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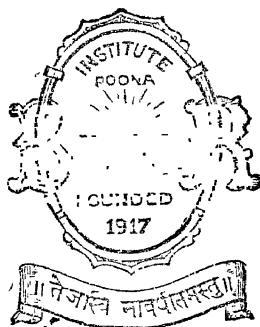
[PART IV

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EDITED BY

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OCTOBER 1944

[PART IV

AN ANCIENT DYNASTY OF KHANDESH

BY

V. V. Mirasbi

Nearly twenty-five years ago Dr R. C. Majumdar edited two copper-plate grants which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar had obtained from a Brāhmana in the Indore State¹. One of these, which was made by the *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa in the year 67, registers the gift of a field in the village Daksina-Valmika-tallavātaka which lay in the Nagarikā-pathaka. The other, which was made by the *Mahārāja* Bhulunda in the year 107, records the donation of a field on the boundary of a village the name of which was read by Dr. Majumdar as Rulladana, but appears to be correctly Ulladana². Both these grants plainly belonged to the same dynasty; for they were both issued from the same place Valkha³. Besides, their characters, phraseology and mode of dating⁴ are the same. The dynasty has not been named in the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 286.

² The letter is hook-shaped with the curve turned to the right. In *ru* the sign of the medial *u* should have been a curve turned downwards and added to the vertical of the southern form of *r*.

³ The reading in both the grants is Valkhā, the final consonant *t* being incorrectly omitted as in several other cases in ancient grants. See, e. g., *Narattaṅgavārī-sthānū*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 171, *Nandivardhanū*, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 158.

⁴ Both the grants are recorded in box-headed characters, the boxes at the top of letters being scooped out hollow. They use the word *varsa* in stead of the usual *saṃvatsara* to denote the year of registration. The formal part of the grants is also almost exactly the same.

grants and has not so far been known from any other source. It is however certain that it was a feudatory family, for both *Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa* and *Mahārāja Bhulunda* describe themselves as *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta*, i. e., 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord' which indicates their feudatory status. Dr. Majumdar could not suggest any identification of Valkha which was apparently the capital of the dynasty. His identifications of Nagarikā with the ancient city of Nāgara which lies 75 miles from the borders of the Indore State and of Tallavāṭaka either with Adalwār, 37 miles north-east from Nāgara or with Talaorā, about 50 miles north-east from the same city, cannot be regarded as quite certain in the absence of definite information about the provenance of these grants.

Dr. Majumdar referred the dates of these grants to the Gupta era on palaeographic grounds; for, according to him their characters resemble those of the Sāñci inscription of Candragupta II. Though the grants mention the year, month and fortnight, they do not give further details such as the week-day or the *nakṣatra* and therefore their dates do not admit of verification. If Dr. Majumdar's view is accepted, Svāmīdāsa's grant would be one of the earliest dated records of the Gupta era. But there are certain difficulties in accepting this view. If Svāmīdāsa and Bhulunda were the feudatories of the Guptas, it looks strange that, unlike other feudatories,¹ they do not name their suzerain. Besides, if these grants were originally found in the Indore State, we shall have to suppose that the rule of the Guptas was well established in Malwa as early as G. E. 67 (A. D. 386), whereas we know that the Western Kṣatrapas were supreme in Kathiawad and Malwa till A. D. 388 at least.² The earliest certain Gupta date from Malwa is the year 82 of the Udayagiri cave inscription of the reign of Candragupta II. It would therefore seem that these dates refer to some other era.

¹ See, e. g., that the Sanukānika *Mahārāja* describes himself as meditating on the feet of Candragupta II in his Udayagiri inscription, dated G. E. 82. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III. p. 25.

² The coins of Rudrasimha, the last of the Western Kṣatrapas, are dated Śaka 310 or 31x (A. D. 388 or 388 + x). See Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc., pp. 92 ff.

It is doubtful if these grants were originally found in the Indore State, or, for the matter of that, anywhere to the north of the Narmadā. From a statement recently published in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 52, we learn that these grants together with another (*viz.*, the so-called Indore grant of the Vakātaka Pravarasena II) were in the possession of Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar, from whom they were obtained by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The Pandit was engaged in collecting old manuscripts and ancient historical records in different parts of the country.¹ These two grants, like the grant of Pravarasena II, may therefore have been found outside the Indore State. Unfortunately their provenance has not been recorded, but there is one circumstance which affords a clue. It has not yet been noticed that these grants bear a very close resemblance to a copper-plate grant² found at Śirpur in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency. This latter grant is fragmentary; for a small piece of the copper-plate about 1" broad, has been broken off the whole way down on the proper right side. The extant portion of the inscription shows that it registers a grant, by *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, of a field on the western boundary of the village Vikattānaka which adjoined another village (or field) named Kolahattaka. The grant is dated in the year 117 of an unspecified era.³ That it belongs to the same dynasty as the other two grants edited by Dr. Majumdar appears clear from the following common features:—

(1) The name of the *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa who made the grant resembles that of the *Mahārāja* Svāmīdāsa of one of the Indore grants. Again, like Svāmīdāsa and Bhulunda, Rudradāsa describes himself as *Parama-bhattāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*.

¹ See his introduction to the *Navasūhasāṅkacarita* (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

² Edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 98 ff.

³ Pandit Bhagwanlal read the date as 118, but was not certain about the era to which it refers. The last symbol denoting the year is exactly similar to that in the date of the Ābhona plates of Śaṅkaragaya which is also expressed in words. See l. 34 of the facsimile facing p. 297, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX.

(2) The characters and phraseology of Śirpur grant are strikingly similar to those of the Indore grants.

(3) The date is also similarly worded and the year is introduced with the word *varsa* as in the other two Indore grants.

(4) The place of issue is not named in the extant portion of the Śirpur grant, but it must have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line, where two or three letters have now been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece of the plate on the proper right. It is noteworthy that the two dots which followed the name of the place of issue as a sign of punctuation are still seen in the beginning of the first line as on the Indore plate of Bhulunḍa. The signature of *Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa*, which must have occurred in the margin on the proper right as in the other two grants, is now lost.

These similarities leave no doubt that all the three grants belong to the same dynasty. The grant of Rudradāsa is known to have been found in the possession on one Motiram Patil of Śirpur¹ and must in all probability have belonged to Khandesh. The so called Indore grants also may likewise have been found some where in Khandesh. With this clue we can satisfactorily identify many of the places mentioned in the three grants. The capital Valkha from which at least two of these grants were issued, is probably identical with Vāghli, about 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh, on the Bombay-Bhusawal line of the G. I. P. Railway. It is an old place as it contains some ancient temples and old Sanskrit inscriptions some of which have now become illegible.² Nagarikā, the head-quarters of the territorial division (*pathaka*) mentioned in the grant of Svāmīdāsa may be identical with Nagar Devlā about 10 miles north-east of Vāghli, which also contains an old 'Hemādapanti' temple of Mahādeva.³ Tallavātaka may be Talvād khurd, about 15 miles north by west of Nagar Devlā. Ulladana mentioned in the other

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 98.

² See *Khandesh District Gazetteer*, p. 478. One of these inscriptions in three parts edited by Dr Kielhorn (*Ep Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.) shows that Vāghli became afterwards the capital of a feudatory royal family named Maurya which originally hailed from Valabhī in Kathiawad and later on owed allegiance to the Yādavas of Khandesh.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Indore grant of Bhulunda is probably identical with Udhli¹ on the Tāpti, about 9 miles east of Bhusawal, in East Khandesh. I have not been able to locate satisfactorily the places mentioned in the Śirpur plate, except Vikattānaka which may be Vitnerā, about 20 miles south by east of Śirpur. But the identification of the other localities leaves no doubt that the dynasty was ruling in Khandesh, probably from Vāghli in the neighbourhood of Chalisgaon.

We thus get the following three names of the kings of this dynasty :—

Mahārāja Svāmidāsa (year 67)

|

Mahārāja Bhulunda (year 107)

|

Mahārāja Rudradāsa (year 117)

As these grants do not mention any royal genealogy, the relation of these princes *inter se* is not known. As stated before, these princes acknowledged the suzerainty of some other power not specified in their grants. The dates of their grants must therefore be referred to the era founded by this power. Now these dates cannot be referred to the Gupta era, for no certain dates of that era have been found to the south of the Narmadā except in the solitary instance of the Ārang plate² of Bhīmasena from Chhattisgarh. In any case Gupta power did not penetrate to Khandesh as early as the end of the fourth century A. D.³ The use of the word *varṣa* in connection with these dates may be taken to point to the Śaka era ; but that era is out of question here as the characters of the grant are far more developed as already noticed by

¹ The description in the record that the field was granted together with the surrounding *kaccha* (bank) suits Udhli very well as it is situated on the bank of the Tāpti

² For the correct date of this record, see my article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff. The Betul plates of the Parivrājaka king Samksobha dated G. E. 199 were also found to the south of the Narmadā, but their contents show that they originally belonged to the Jabulpur District. See also Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, (Second ed.), p. 87.

³ The identification of Eraṇḍapalli, mentioned in the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, with Eraṇḍol in Khandesh proposed by Fleet is now held to be untenable.

Pandit Bhagwanlal and Dr. Majumdar. The only other era to which these dates can be referred is the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era which, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ was founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, in A. D. 249. Khandesh was the stronghold of the Ābhīras. Even now the Ābhīras or Ahīrs predominate in that district. These princes who were evidently ruling in Khandesh were probably feudatories of the Ābhīras whose era they have used in their grants. The years 67, 107 and 117 mentioned in these records therefore correspond to A. D. 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 respectively.² Except for the date of the Nasik cave inscription of the Ābhīra Īśvarasena, these are the earliest dates of that era.

No copper-plate inscriptions of the successors of Rudradāsa have been discovered, but in an inscription in cave XVII at Ajantā we find some similar names ending in *dāsa* which may have belonged to the same dynasty. This inscription has lost a considerable portion on the left. It was first edited by Dr. Bhau Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 59 ff.; then by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temple of Western India*, pp. 63 ff. and finally, by Dr. Bühler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 129 ff. Bühler's transcript is accompanied by a facsimile prepared from an inked estampage taken by Bhagwanlal, but it is considerably worked up by hand. A correct edition of the record together with a purely mechanical facsimile is still a desideratum. From an excellent estampage which I owe to the kindness of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, I was able to correct some of Dr. Bühler's readings. The inscription mentions the following princes :—

¹ My article on this era will soon be published in this journal.

² The use of word *varṣa* to signify the years of this era seems to be in imitation of the Śaka era which was previously current in *Mahārāṣṭra*. Again, the use of Sanskrit in these grants need not cause any surprise as the revival of the classical language had already begun in *Mahārāṣṭra* in the third century A. D. The Nasik inscription of the Ābhīra Īśvarasena is written in almost correct Sanskrit as already remarked by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

- 1 (Name lost)
- 2 Dhrtarāstra
- 3 Harisāmba
- 4 Śaurisāmba
- 5 Upendragupta
- 6 Kāca I
- 7 Bhiksudāsa
- 8 Niladāsa
- 9 Kāca II
- 10 Kṛṣṇadāsa

11 (name lost)

Ravisāmba

The two sons of Kṛṣṇadāsa are compared to Pradyumna and Sāmba. The name of the elder son is lost. That of the younger one ended in *sāmba* and may have been Ravisāmba as read by Bhagwanlal and Buhler.¹ The two brothers conquered Aśmaka and other countries and lived happily with increasing (fraternal) love and fame.² After some time Ravisāmba died prematurely. His elder brother, being overwhelmed with sorrow and convinced of the transitoriness of the world,³ began to lead a pious life. He waited upon saintly persons known for their learning, charity, compassion and other virtues and imitated in his actions righteous kings of the past. He bestowed munificent gifts on supplicants and adorned the whole world with his fame. He caused *stūpas* and *vihāras* to be erected and got the excellent monolith *maṇḍapa* together with a *cailya* of

¹ The first *akṣara* does not appear exactly like *ra*.

² In line 9 Bhagwanlal read *ekādhipatyā-pratham-āvatāraṁ dadhre dvitīyo Ravisāmba-samjñāṁ*, which Buhler changed into *ekādhipatyāṁ prathamō babhāra* which conveys the meaning that the elder brother became Emperor. The correct reading, however is *dharādhipākyām prathamō babhāra* which means that the elder brother succeeded to the throne.

³ In line 17 Dr. Bhau Dajī had correctly read *anītyasamjñā-sacīvas = tataḥ paraṁ vyavivṛdhat = punya-mahā-mahīruhaṁ*, but took *anītya* to be the name of a minister. Bhagwanlal and Buhler read *Acīnīya-* and *Acītya-* respectively and took these to be the name of the minister. The correct reading is undoubtedly *anītya-* and the sense evidently is that the prince was all the while conscious of the transitoriness of life.

the Buddha to be excavated in the form of the present cave XVII at Ajantā, while Hariṣena, the moon among princes (*ksit-īndra-candra*), was protecting the earth. He also provided it with a water-cistern and caused a noble *gandhakutī* to be excavated to the west of it in another part of the hill.¹

The foregoing account of the inscription in Ajantā cave XVII shows that the last of these kings was a contemporary and perhaps a feudatory of the Vākātaka king Harisena who flourished from *circa* A. D. 475 to A. D. 500.² He was preceded by ten other princes. The first of these may therefore be placed in *circa* A. D. 275-300. Some of these princes may therefore have been contemporaries of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulunda and Rudradāsa whose dates range from A. D. 316 to A. D. 366, but the latter names do not occur anywhere in the list of the Ajantā inscription. We can reconcile the known data by supposing either that these kings were collaterals of the princes mentioned in the Ajantā inscription or that they belonged to a different branch and ruled over a different part of Khandesh.

These kings were at first feudatories of the Ābhīras whose empire, judging from the use of their era seems to have extended from Konkan in the west to Khandesh in the east and from the Narmadā in the north to the Kṛsnā in the south. According to the Purānas ten Ābhīra kings ruled for 67 years. This however gives an incredibly small average of 6.7 years per reign. Perhaps the expression *sapta-śasti śatān-īha*, stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a Ms. of the *Vāyupurāṇa*³ is a mistake for *sapta-śastim śatān=c=ēha*.⁴ If this is correct,

¹ This is evidently the so-called Caitya cave XIX which actually lies to the west of Cave XVII. The proper name of such caves is *gandhakutī*. Incidentally this furnishes a definite date for the beautifully sculptured cave XIX, which had long been missed, for Bhagwanlal thought that the reference was to the small cave XVIII from which he thought the image had been removed, while Bühler thought the *gandhakutī* lay to the west of the Buddha's (?) body.

² See the *Vākātaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā* edited by me in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, p. 9.

³ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kalī Age*, p. 46, n. 37.

⁴ For a similar expression *pañcavarṣa-śatān=īha* which Pargiter takes as 'probably meaning 105 years'.

the Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years. The unnamed Great Lords on whose feet Svāmidāsa, Bhulunḍa and Rudradāsa meditated may thus have belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty. After the fall of the Ābhīras, these princes seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākātakas who were their powerful neighbour to the east. Harisena, the last of the Vākātakas, is mentioned in the Ajantā inscription as the contemporary ruling king.

From the mention of Āsmaka in line 10 of the Ajantā inscription Pandit Bhagwanlal inferred that these kings were ruling over Āsmaka.¹ But the correct reading of the line is *m-Āsmak-ādikān deśānś-ca [teṣām] = abhibhūya bhūyasā rarājatuś = candra-divākarāv = iva*. 'The two (sons of Kṛṣṇadāsa), having overcome Āsmaka and other countries, shone mostly like the sun and the moon.' Āsmaka was thus one of the countries raided by these princes; it was not their home-land. In fact Āsmaka was not the ancient name of Khandesh. From the *Suttanipāta* we learn that the Āsmakas had a settlement on the Godāvari.² The Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli plates of about the same age as the Ajantā inscription state that Mānāka, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty had conquered Vidarbha and Āsmaka which appear to have been contiguous countries. As I have shown elsewhere,³ Vidarbha in that inscription refers to the kingdom of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas. Āsmaka seems, therefore, to have comprised the Aurangabad and perhaps the Ahamadnagar district. The Ajantā or Sātmālā range separated Āsmaka from Khandesh as it divided Vidarbha into Northern and Southern Vidarbha. Another Ajantā inscription in Cave XXVI⁴ which belongs to a slightly later date refers to a minister of the kings of Āsmaka in whose honour the cave was excavated. The country of Āsmaka thus lay to the south of Ajantā and was different from Khandesh which lay to the north of it.

The ancient name of Khandesh seems to have been Ṛṣika. No satisfactory identification of this latter country has yet been suggested. Varāhamihira places Ṛṣika in the southern division.

¹ *Inscriptions from the Cave Temple etc.*, p. 73; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 99.

² *Suttanipāta*, p. 977.

³ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XXV, p. 44.

⁴ See *Arch. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV, pp. 132 ff.

² [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Rṣika is grouped with Vidarbha and Māhiṣaka among countries of the south which Sugriva asked monkeys to visit in search of Sītā.¹ In the *Mahābhārata* also Rṣika is coupled with Vidarbha.² Another verse of the *Mahābhārata* connects Rṣika with the western Anūpa country.³ Elsewhere, the epic couples Rṣika with Āśmaka while mentioning the countries conquered by Karna.⁴ In the *Daśakumāracarita* the ruler of Rṣika is said to have been, like that of Āśmaka, a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha.⁵ The Nāsik cave inscription of Puṣumāvi mentions Asika (Sanskrit, Rṣika) together with Asaka (Sanskrit, Āśmaka) among the countries which were under the rule of his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.⁶ All these references plainly show that Rṣika was contiguous to Āśmaka, Vidarbha and Anūpa (or Māhiṣaka).⁷ The only country which answers to this geographical position is Khandesh; for it is bounded on the east by Berar (ancient Vidarbha), on the north by the Nemād district of the Central Provinces and parts of the Indore State (ancient Anūpa or Māhiṣaka) and on the south by the Aurangabad District (Ancient Āśmaka).

The rulers of Rṣika, Vidarbha and Āśmaka were thus holding the country round Ajantā. All the three dynasties have left us precious monuments in the shape of some magnificent caves at Ajantā.⁸

¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, (Nirṇayasāgar ed.), Kishkindhākāṇḍa, v. 10.

² *Mahābhārata*, (Chitraśālā Press ed.), Bhīṣmaparvan, adhyāya 9, v. 64.

³ *Ibid.*, Udyogaparvan, adhyāya 4, vv. 18-19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Karṇaparvan, adhyāya 8, v. 20.

⁵ *Daśakumāracarita*, (Bom. Sansk. Series), p. 138.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff.

⁷ Māhiṣaka was probably the country of which the capital was Māhiṣmatī. It is well known that this city was also the capital of the Anūpa country. See *Raghuvamśa*, Canto VI, vv. 37 and 43.

⁸ Cave XVI which Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess considered to be, 'in some respects most elegant' was caused to be excavated by a minister of the king Harīṣeṇa who belonged to the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Cave XVII which now has more paintings than any other and the *gandhakufi* cave XIX which is most elaborately sculptured were caused to be made by a king of Rṣika as shown in this article. Finally, cave XXVI which also is an elaborately sculptured *gandhakufi* was executed by a Bhikṣu in honour of his friend Bhavvirāja who was a minister of an Āśmaka king.

ABHIMANYU-UPĀKHYĀNA AND THE UNKNOWN
EPISODE RE: ABHIMANYU'S PREVIOUS LIFE

BY

M. R. MAJMUDAR

The Mahābhārata has been studied from many points of view ; linguistic, historical, geographical and metaphysical : and much learning has been brought to bear upon this great subject. It is also equally important to attempt to trace the growth and development of the legends and themes which have gone to the making of the great epic.

If it were possible to sift out from the huge mass of Indian Epic poetry, as we now possess it in the various recensions of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, those old stories and legends which must have been living for a long time in the mouth of the people before they were collected, enlarged and dressed up by later hands, a rich mine of information would be opened for the ancient times of India.

The various recensions of the text of Mahābhārata are usually those that are handed down to us with interpolations and additions which smell of local colouring and betray some sort of regional folklore.

The object of this paper is to introduce the episode of Abhimanyu existing in the form of an *Upākhyāna*. Though this cannot be traced to the original corpus of the Mahābhārata¹ it is however found to be widely current in Western India, especially in Gujarāta and Rajaputānā. So much so that a Sanskrit Ms. of *Abhimanyu-Upākhyāna* has been traced from the Baroda Oriental Institute collection, extending to 20 *adhyāyas* with about 1100 *anustup* verses. (No. 9078).

¹ "There is no reference to the story anywhere in the whole of the Mahābhārata. No. Ms. of Droṇaparva shows any reference to the story in question. Abhimanyu is consistently called Varcas, son of Soma and finally goes to his father".

From a letter dated 16-11-43 of Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator, B. O. R. I., Poona, in consultation with the Supervisor of the Mahābhārata Department.

The episode about Abhimanyu's previous birth as a demon is neither traceable to the original Dronaparva nor to the vernacular recensions of the Mahābhārata either in Marāṭhi, Hindi or Bengālī. However, it is successively referred to in Gujarātī *Akhyānas* about Abhimanyu, from early 15th century A.D., down to the middle of the 19th century A. D. exactly identical with the Sanskrit upākhyāna.

Could the episode be ascribed to Jaimini's version of the Mahābhārata, which indluges in many additions of legends and folklore as is in evidence in his extant Āsvamedhika Parva? No other Parvans of the Mahābhārata by Jaimini have, however, been traced so far. The late D. B. K. H. Dhurva had mentioned to have come across a Ms. of Svargārohana Parva by Jaimini. If by chance, his Drona Parva were to come to light, we may expect to find some reference to the previous birth episode of Abhimanyu.

The episode owes its creation to a rare sense of poetic justice; as we feel at the end of the poem that after all, it was good that the demon in Abhimanyu after having been turned to good account by getting several leaders of the enemy's camp killed at his hands, ultimately was not allowed to live, grow strong and be a menace to the Pāṇḍava party.

While borrowing the plot of the main incident from the Mahābhārata, the author of the *Abhimanyu Upākhyāna* faithfully adheres to the dogma of incarnation and the Vaiṣṇava cult inseparably worked up in the original. Agreeably to this, Viṣṇu born as Kṛṣṇa destroys the inimical Demon in open fight. His son Ayalocana, however, is not so fairly dealt with. Kṛṣṇa kills him, not in a battle. For that could free him from re-birth. But he was destined to fight, the unrighteous Kauravas, and work havoc among them as Abhimanyu. So the incarnate God plays the crafty man, and getting the giant into an adamantine chest stifles him to death. The murdered Ayalocana is reborn as Kṛṣṇa's nephew. So the latter brings about his death secretly in a way known to him only.

The personality of Kṛṣṇa whether working openly or secretly, is always before us, throughout the poem, though it is less in evidence than that of Abhimanyu who is technically the hero. As a matter of fact, the only characters that interest us strongly

are Abhimanyu and Kṛṣṇa. Next to them come the princess Uttarā and queen Subhadrā.

The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas reveal Kṛṣṇa to us as a man, certainly not eminently good, but a crafty chief who is not overscrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends.¹

According to Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, chapter 221, Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna by Subhadrā, was the Somaputra Varcas in his previous birth. From the day of his birth he was found to be dauntless, arousing fear in others, and of an irritable disposition.

“अभिश्च मन्युमांश्चैव ततस्तममरिमर्दनम् । अभिमन्युरिति प्राहुराजनि पुरुषर्षभ ॥”

महा. आदि. श्लोक .

Brahmā had ordered all the Devas to be born in this world in Amśa form in order to free the earth from all fear. At that time Soma (the moon) while deputing his dearest son Varcas to this world had declared that he will not be able to brook the separation of his darling for a very long time. Accordingly he had stipulated that Varcas shall return after a life of 16 years only.² (Ādi, Adh. 67)

In the Mahābhārata fight, Droṇa had managed to engage Arjuna against the Samśaptaka force, in order that the other Pāṇdavās can be defeated in no time. At this juncture, Droṇa manoeuvred the Kaurava forces in the celebrated Cakra-vyūha form. Yudhiṣṭhira was at his wits' end, as he could not find out a competent man to be in command, who could pierce through the Cakra-vyūha.

The gallant Abhimanyu came to his rescue, depending on all further help from the powerful Bhīma, as he knew only the way of ingress. Abhimanyu, however, boldly enough, created a breach in the hostile ranks, and gave a brave front to the veteran generals of the Kaurava forces; but in the heat of his onward

¹ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics-Vol. 7, pp. 193-197; Prof. Jacobi's article on 'Incarnation (Indian).'

² “In the Mbh. heroic genealogy, Varcas, part of Soma becomes Abhimanyu (lives 16 years, corresponding to the 16 days of the bright moon)” ... section on Soma in the “Epic Mythology” by E. W. Hopkins, p. 91 (1915).

rush, Bhīma whose march was checked by Jayadratha had been led away from him. Thus Abhimanyu was left alone to his fate to fight single-handed against the galaxy of tried generals.

Abhimanyu, however, showed the excellent stuff he was made up of; but being fatigued and wounded, was slain by the son of Duḥśāsana (Drona. Adh. 34-39).

He was dearest both to Kṛṣṇa and to Balarāma. He left Uttarā, the daughter of Virāṭarāja with an embriyo, who was born as Parikṣita the only living remnant of both the Kaurava and the Pāṇḍava families at the end of the Mahābhārata War.

The Mahābhārata narrative of Abhimanyu's worldly career, as noticed above in short, leaves one mourning at the sad lot of Abhimanyu, who met with rather an untimely though a glorious death under exasperating circumstances. One would have wished Bhīma to be beside him in his forward march, and helped him to get out successfully of the Cakravyūha at the end of the fight, during the absence of Arjuna, the most powerful of all the Pāṇḍavas. But as ill-luck could have it, Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā, Arjuna, and Uttarā were left in deep mourning by Abhimanyu!

The unknown author of the independent poem-Upākhyāna has however, tacked his story on the original source of the incident¹ which occurs in the Droṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata, in order to arouse confidence and reverence for it in the heart of his readers. He has accordingly not preferred to call it an independent poem, but has arranged it in the usual form of a dialogue between the king Janamejaya, the grand-son of Abhimanyu and the sage Vaiśampāyana.

The unknown author of the Upākhyāna occasionally mentions the river Sābhramatī (modern Sābarmatī) in the benedictory verses, which help us to locate the composition of the episode, somewhere in Central Gujārāṭa.²

The copy that is available to us is not even a century old; however, it must have been copied from some other original.

¹ “इति श्रीमहाभारते द्रोणपर्वणि अभिमन्युपाख्यानं.....नाम.....अध्यायः ।”

² “श्रीगणेश शिवदुर्गा दिवानाथ जनार्दन । सनकादीन्मुनीन्द्वांश्च नत्वा वक्ष्ये कथानकम् ॥
कृपया धर्षलेशस्य साध्रमत्याः प्रसादतः । मुकुन्दस्य च कृपया कुर्वेऽहं भारताश्रयम् ॥
शिवमस्तु ममात्रापि शिवं वस्तुः सदा भवेत् । भोतुः शिवं सदा भूयात् सर्वेषां तु शिवं भव ॥
राधाकृष्णौ नमस्कृत्य अभिमन्युकथारसं । धर्मार्थकामदं प्रोक्तं यथाबुद्ध्या करोम्यहम् ॥”

Because it will be too much to imagine that somebody might have narrated the episode in Sanskrit from some Vernacular sources.

The style of the Upākhyāna is simple, racy and very much reminiscent of the great epic.¹ The introductory verses and the colophon may be given here by way of illustration :—

“ नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् । देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥
सुत उवाच । व्यासशिष्यं महाभागं वैशंपायनमेव च । पूजितं सुखमासीनं पप्रच्छ
जनमेजयः ॥

श्री जनमेजय उवाच । सुने त्वया पुरा प्रोक्तं विराटस्योत्तरां सुताम् । उपयेमेऽ-
भिमन्युश्च योऽयं मम पितामहः । जन्मकर्माखिलं तस्य विवाहं मुनिसत्तम ॥ चक्रव्यूहः
कथं जातः तन्मे कथय सूत्रतः ॥

वैशंपायन उवाच । “ शृणु राजन् प्रवक्ष्येऽहं यथाधीते यथाश्रुतम् ॥ ” पुष्पिका ।

The colophon of the Mss. reads as follows :—

“ यत्र संगीयते नित्यं श्रीकृष्णस्तु पदे पदे । धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां प्रापकं कृष्णकीर्तनम् ॥ ”
इति श्रीमहाभारते द्रोणपर्वणि अभिमन्युपाख्याने भारतसमुच्चयो नाम विंशोऽध्यायः ।
सं. १९०९ ना वर्षे शके १७७५ प्रवर्तमाने अषाढमासे शुक्लपक्षे ६ ने वार मंगल ।
लिखितं दवे वैकुण्ठराम रेवाशंकर स्वपठनार्थम् । ”

The contents of each of the twenty adhyāyas of the Upākhyāna can be gathered from the short titles given at the end.²

The story, in brief, of the epilogue linking up the birth of Abhimanyu with his previous birth is as follows :—

Child Ayalocana while playing with little children was tormenting and beating them. One boy, being very much ill-treated one day gave him a taunt. “ Why do you torment us ? If you are very strong, why not avenge your father's death ? ”

At this, Ayalocana ran to his mother and entreated her to tell everything about his father and his ultimate end. The mother most unwillingly narrated how Visnu killed the boy's father in an open fight, putting his capital to fire, at which she had to

² “ अयलोचनप्रश्नः । अयलोचनवधः । अभिमन्युविवाहारंभः । अभिमन्युद्राहि कृष्णवाक्यं । अभिमन्युद्राहि वैराटमोहः । धर्मचिन्ता । अभिमन्युवाक्यं । उत्तराशोकं रत्नराजागमनं । उत्तरानयनं । उत्तरासंयोगः । चक्रव्यूहभेदः । अभिमन्यु-पराक्रमः । अभिमन्यु-वधः । अर्जुनविलापः । कौरवचिन्ता । जयद्रथविजयः । जयद्रथवधः । द्रोणवधः । कुरुक्षेत्रः । भारत समुच्चयः ।

make good her escape to her father's house, when the boy was in her womb.

The posthumously born Ayalocana on hearing this, there and then took a vow to avenge his father's death. The mother dissuaded him from such a rash undertaking, as she said, hostilities with powerful Kṛṣṇa who had killed powerful Kāṁsa and Śiśupāla, would be of no avail. The boy however, persisted, to whom the mother ultimately advised to appease God Śiva, who would bestow him with great prowess.

Ayalocana went to a solitary place, practised penance, and succeeded after six months in pleasing Śiva to grant a boon. When asked as to what this desire was, the boy begged of Śiva to be made immortal.

And Śiva would have granted him this boon, unwittingly, had Pārvatī not intervened. So Śiva checked himself and told him; "I know what is in your mind; you want to fight Viṣṇu. You will not be hurt by any weapon; and your death will happen without any thrust of a weapon."

Ayalocana jumped in joy at this boon, believing that he would not be defeated in any fight, and would meet death in the normal course.

Ayalocana got a big iron-clad chest prepared at the hands of Maya, the architect of the Daityas, who took six months to prepare it.

With that Vajra-pañjara (iron chest) Ayalocana started for Dvārakā to fight Kṛṣṇa and then seize him and stifle him to death by putting him in the chest.

Kṛṣṇa having known this, met the boy on way in the form of an old Brāhmana, crying. The boy, on inquiry was pleased to identify him as his family-preceptor, who was mourning the loss of his Yajamāna, the boy's father. The old man asked the boy, about his plans to avenge his father's death. The boy, being off his guard at the sympathising words of the old man, confided the whole thing to him and told him that the chest was meant for Kṛṣṇa.

The old man, then advised Ayalocana to ascertain if Kṛṣṇa would be contained in it. At this, the boy requested him further to tell the dimensions of Kṛṣṇa. The crafty old man assured him

that Kṛṣṇa was slender and tiny, and if the boy could get in the chest, then, Kṛṣṇa would surely be contained.

A trial of this was then suggested ; and when Ayalocana got in the chest, Kṛṣṇa in the guise of the old man, shut the door tight, to the utter dismay and embarrassment of Ayalocana. When after many entreaties the old man would not open the door of the chest, Ayalocana felt that some fraud was being perpetrated on him. But, then, it was too late to mend.

Ayalocana made great efforts to break open the chest through sheer force ; the chest was lifted to the sky and came down with a crash but to no effect. He was gasping for breath and was soon stifled to death.

Kṛṣṇa then arranged to carry the chest to his residence ; and placed it secretly under Subhadrā's care. The wives of Śrī Kṛṣṇa out of sheer curiosity wanted the secret to be divulged as to the content of the chest. Subhadrā, who was then carrying, was prevailed upon by Satyabhāmā, Rukmini and others to open and to have a look at it for a while. When the door was opened, they were shocked to see a dead body with eyes and mouth wide open. But the ghost of Ayalocana that was hovering over the body got in through Subhadrā's mouth, planning great mischief to Kṛṣṇa through his sister Subhadrā.

After everything was arranged as before in the chest, and all had left, Subhadrā got such acute pain in the stomach that Kṛṣṇa had to be informed of it. Kṛṣṇa got the whole story about the opening of the chest ; and was constrained to attribute the pain to that incident. The demon was seeking a chance to wreak his doubled vengeance.

The demon prevented the birth of the embriyo, causing much pain.

Subhadrā had to be humoured in this predicament by telling her the story about the magical spiral array. Subhadrā felt a bit relieved by the narration and felt asleep, when the demon in the womb, wanting to know the complete secret about the ingress and egress of the Cakravayūha began to give a sound, showing that the story was followed by her. Kṛṣṇa noticing a change in the tone of the sound, found that Subhadrā was fast asleep and that the sound was coming from the womb.

Kṛṣṇa then cut short the narrative and left the place.

The demon then thought fit to be born, thereafter known as Abhimanyu, whose partial knowledge of breaking the spiral array was going to be of great help to the Pāṇḍavas' army in the absence of Arjuna.

Such is the interesting epilogue of the Abhimanyu-Upākhyāna which leads the reader to believe that it was after all well-destined by God that Abhimanyu could not survive the Mahābhārata war; because in that case, he would not have missed to wreak vengeance on Kṛṣṇa.

The story contained in the Sanskrit Upākhyāna, coming as it does from Western India, is very popular in Gujarātī literature. So much so that it has been handed down to us in succession, with slight additions. All the poets who have written about Abhimanyu-Dehala (early 15th century,) Nākara (16th century), Tāpidāsa (mid 17th century), Premānanda (late 17th century), Lajjārāma (late 18th century) and Revāsamkara (late 19th century) have drawn upon the Sanskrit episode as their main stay,¹ the value of their individual performance varying with each poet's diction, fancy and imagination.

A remarkable quantity of Gujarātī folk-songs, ballads and dirges by unknown authors are also met with, dealing with one or the other incident, from the story, reminiscent of the Sanskrit original. These folk-songs are collected in an Appendix to my critical edition of Tāpidāsa's "Abhimanyu-ākhyāna" published in 1925.

An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to give an idea as to how a classical Gujarātī author has treated the story. Premānanda's 'Abhimanyu Ākhyāna' is a heroic poem in 54 cantos. It opens with a very brief sketch by Vaiśampāyana relating to Janamejaya, how Abhimanyu was slain in his gallant attempt to break the so-called spiral array-*Cakravayūha* of the Kauravas. The royal listener could not understand why the Almighty Kṛṣṇa let his nephew die so sad and untimely a death.

This gives the poet an occasion to give at full length the account of the previous birth of Abhimanyu as Ahilocana (Ayalocana of the Sanskrit episode). The episode takes up cantos 2-13, and forms the most interesting section of the poem.

¹ A comparative study of the story in the various Gujarātī versions, traceable to the Sanskrit Upākhyāna has been published by me as "*Abhimanyu-pūrva-Kathā-anveṣaṇa*" (December 1944).

Cantos 14-33 narrate the birth of Abhimanyu; his marriage with the Matsya princess Uttarā, and its consummation on the eve of the battle, arranged at a very short notice by fetching Uttarā on camel-back, leading to the birth of Parikṣit.

Then comes the description charging the Kaurava army arrayed in the form of an intricate maze of seven curves. He successfully fought his way through six of them. But in his attempt to force the seventh curvilinear array he was overpowered and killed by six Kaurava leaders, nefariously conspiring to entrap him.

Cantos 34-45 are occupied with the narration of the gallant fighting. In the remaining cantos, the poet tells us how his death was bitterly avenged.

Such is the summary of the stirring narrative as utilised by Premānanda. It naturally divides itself into five parts. First comes the introduction. It is followed by the episode of Ayalocana. Then there is the intermediary section, bringing up the narrative to Abhimanyu's march to fight the Kauravas and his meeting with Uttarā. The succeeding section describes the combat of Abhimanyu and his death. The poem concludes with an account of the terrible retribution and revenge.

Of these five sections, the first is very cleverly executed. While preparing the audience for the episode of Ayalocana, it reminds us of the prelude (Prastāvanā) in the Sanskrit drama. One may even go further and say that it forms the key to the whole poem as conceived by the unknown author of this episode.

Though apparently Abhimanyu is made the hero of the Ākhyāna, behind him looms large the figure of Kṛṣṇa as God incarnate, directing the destinies of the world in the best interests of the righteous.

This second section is a prologue of the poem proper. But the story of Ahilocana is not a mere episode that can conveniently be dropped. The original author of this story, whoever he might have been, has artistically made it an integral part of the narrative.

The third section in Premānanda's poem, in spite of the many beautiful passages which it contains, is confessedly out of harmony with the prevailing *Vīra* sentiment which characterises the 2nd and 4th section. The celebration of the pregnancy of

Subhadra and the marriage of Abhimanyu are topics which the poet would have done well not to indulge in at great length.

The fourth section is more descriptive than dramatic. Had the poet unstintedly treated us with the spirited speeches of combatants rather than with the conventional commonplace description of the combatants, we should have as much relished them as we do Homer's.

The fifth section forms an epilogue to the poem, and as such it is necessarily brief.

Thus the prevalence of the traditional episode regarding Abhimanyu's previous birth in several Gujarātī versions from Western India deserves an intensive study. The discovery of this material is, also, likely to be useful at a time when the critical edition of the Droṇa Parva is yet to be taken on hand.¹ Its interest for the folklorist is also unforgettable.

¹ Dr. S. K. De who has undertaken to edit the Droṇa Parva, under the auspices of the Committee for the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, informs me that he has not so far come across this incident about Abhimanyu's previous birth in any of the Mss of the Droṇa Parva.

NOMINAL STEM-FORMATION IN APABHRAṂŚA

By

G. V. TAGARE

[Nominal Stem-formation in Indo-Aryan is practically a neglected field. It is especially so in the case of Middle Indo-Aryan in general and Apabhraṁśa in particular. Pischel and Geiger have mostly neglected this topic in their otherwise excellent grammars of Prakrits and Pali. From the type-script of Dr. S. M. Katre's *Wilson Philological Lectures* (1941), it appears that the brilliant scholar had little time to deal with this subject in its MIA stage, in details, in his lecture on Nominal Stem-formation in I-A' (Lecture IV). Though the lecture is highly suggestive and supplies us with a valuable list of possible Pali and Prakrit developments of CIA stem-formants and though he illustrates these with reference to certain roots, we have no treatment of such formations as actually attested in this stage of IA.

In the introductory portion of the present paper, I have taken a brief review of the work done so far, in the field of Nominal Stem-formation in IA. In the body of the paper, I have dealt with such formants as are actually found in Ap. literature composed between 500-1200 A. D. In order to conserve space, I did not quote the exact context of each form unless it was absolutely necessary to do so. I indicated the venue of each form by designating it as WAp. (Western Ap.), SAp. (Southern Ap.), and EAp. (Eastern Ap.). Roughly these regions correspond to the Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī, and Māgadhī regions in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. Thus SAp. includes the works of Puṣpadanta and Kanakāmara; EAp. means the *Dohakoṣas* of Kāpha and Saraha as edited by M. Shahidulla.

Many of the suffixes in this paper are found in other MIA dialects but they are included here because they are found in Ap. works and I wish to present the MIA development of these formants in general and that in the tertiary MIA in particular.

It is hoped that this humble spade-work will be of some interest and use to students of Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan.

—The Author.]

The study of Nominal Stem Formation in IA in general, and in MIA in particular, has not received adequate attention of scholars. We have a fine collection of material for the OIA period in W. D. Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar and Roots*, Renou's *Grammaire Sanscrite*, and Macdonell's *Sanskrit grammar*. Hjalmar Frisk deals with OIA suffixes -ṭha and -ra in their

Indo-European setting. We hope to get Prof. Wackernagel's work on this subject (Nominal Stem Formation in OIA) after close of this war, as his *Atlindische Grammatik* II. ii was in the press when the war was declared.

In NIA Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar* and S. K. Chatterji's *Origin and Development of Bengali* deal with this topic. The present writer has undertaken the study of Nominal Formantia in Marathi in its IA. setting as this topic is excluded by Prof. J. Bloch in his masterpiece on Marathi, I mean *La Formation de la Langue marathe*.

Unfortunately Geiger's *Pali Literatur und Sprache* and Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* give very meagre treatment of this. Geiger gives a few suffixes connected with verbal nouns, while Pischel enumerates a few more : -āla-, -ālu-, illa-, -ulla-, as matup-, -ira as a krt-suffix, --tt-, -ka-, -ḍa-, -manta-, -vanta-, and -ima-. (See Grammatik, §§ 595-603.). His treatment is sometimes defective. For example, -ālu- is represented in later OIA as in krp-ālu, sprhay-ālu, etc. and is probably connected with OIA -āru- in its MIA setting (Cf. OIA bhad-ra > *bhad-la > MIA bhalla. This -la treatment of OIA -ra is found in other cases also). But Pischel does not take this into account. I admit that Pischel was not writing a historical grammar of Nominal Formants in Prakrits. This is exactly why a critical study of these formations in their historical perspective should be undertaken by some scholar. From the typescript of his *Wilson Philological Lectures* (1941) which Dr. S. M. Katre kindly lent to me, it appears that the brilliant scholar has tried to take a survey of the development of these suffixes in a masterly way. His illuminating Lecture (No. IV) gives us sufficient guidance for further research. But the subject is too vast to be compressed in a single lecture, and as he stops at the secondary MIA, I thought it better to limit myself to the tertiary MIA i. e. Apabhramśa and study the problem in its Time-Space context. As usual Ap. suffixes are classified here as (1) the Primary and (2) the Secondary. Most of the OIA suffixes e. g. -a (technically known as 'ac, aṇ, kañ' etc.), -u(u, ḍu), -tra(stran), -nu(knu), and others became so much identified with the word in the late OIA period that OIA root suffix is

one word for the MIA speakers and there is no propriety in analysing Ap. carisu(carisṇu), jalahi(jaladhi), kisi(kṛṣi) into kara-isu(isnu), jala-ha-i (technically called *ki* in Sk. grammar), kisa-i (known as *ik* in Sk. grammar). I limit myself to important Ap. Affixes.

PRIMARY SUFFIXES

-a<OIA -ka: 'agent or doer' e.g. WAp. khavanaa(ksapaṇaka) 'a Jaina monk', SAp. bappihaya(bāspa-iha-ka) 'a cātaka bird', EAp. binua(vijñuka) 'knower'.

-ana<OIA -ana with or without pleonastic -ka: to make Abstract Substantives e.g. WAp. jampanaya(jampa=jalp 'to speak'), SAp. khaṃcaṇa(kars 'to draw') cf. M. khēcane, WAp. dāvana(dam-) 'a binding-rope' cf. H. dāvan, M. dāvaṇ, Sdh. dāvaṇu, Pj. dāū, Guj. dāmpī, SAp. khuntana(khupta- = trut-), ghattana(ghatta, usually connected with Sk.√ghṛs-),

-āra<OIA -kāra: 'agent or doer' e.g. sonnāra(suvarṇa-kāra) 'gold-smith', sūnāra(sūnā-kāra) 'one committing violence to lives', janeri(*janaya-karī)? But this is generally equated with Sk. janayitṛi 'mother', though the form does not explain -eri.

-iya(a)<OIA -in with svārthe -ka; also OIA -ika: 'action or agent' e.g. ullūriya(ullūra-ika) 'a baker'.

-ira: habit 'tācchīlye'. In his Introduction to Ap. portion from Kumārapālapratiḥodha, Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf regards this as a suffix of the Present Part.

WAp. kandira(krand-), hallira(halla- 'to move'), bhamira(bhram-), kampira(kamp-), hasira(has-) etc. SAp. thippira(stip-), cāvira(carv-) cf. M. cāvarā, himsira(himsa- 'to neigh'), hiṇḍira(hiṇḍ-), icchira(icch-). No such form was found in EAp.

-illa<OIA -ra or -la? 'Showing agent' e.g. SAp. kapailla(kvaṇ-) 'parrot'.

-ga<OIA -ka: 'agent, doer' e.g. WAp. khama(va)ga(kaṣ-maka=ksapaṇaka) 'a Jaina monk', jāna-ga(jñāyaka) 'knower'.

-tāra<OIA -tr: 'agent or doer' e.g. ahittāra(abhi-vak-tr), kattāra(kar-tr).

These forms are not strictly limited to Ap. but are also met with in Prakrit literature.

SECONDARY SUFFIXES

The following is the list of important secondary Suffixes. These are added to: (1) Substantives to form Substantives; (2) Adjectives for forming Abstract Substantives; (3) Substantives to form Adjectives; (4) Adjectives to form Adjectives; (5) Verbs for forming Adjectives (6) Adverbs to form Adjectives. Lastly Ap. has a number of pleonastic suffixes, most of which are of Indo-Aryan origin though in the case of -ka some Dravidian influence is suspected and some of these may go back to the IE period.

In the following list of suffixes the powers of each suffix are indicated one after another. The classification of these formants as per above-mentioned powers is given at the end in order to present a synthetic view of the Stem-formations in Ap.

-a < OIA -ka: pleonastic e. g. WAp. būḍha-a (vṛddha-ka) Cf. H. būḍhā 'an old man', santāviya-a (santāpitaka) 'provoking anger', ahāṇa-a (abhānaka); SAp. Joheya-a (Yaudheyaka) 'N. of a country', bhaḍāra-a (bhaṭṭāraka) 'master, prince'; EAp. tuṭṭha-a (pp. of tuṭṭha < truṭ) 'broken' bisaria-a (vismṛtaka) 'forgotten' arabinda-a (aravindaka) 'a lotus'.
-ā < OIA -ā: feminine gender. It is sometimes substituted where normally OIA -ī is seen e. g. WSAp. -gattia (-gātrikā = -gātri), taruṇa (* tarunā = o-nī).

-aya (a) < OIA -aka: pleonastic. As a matter of fact it is ya < OIA -ka. e. g. acheraya (āścaryaka) 'a wonder', SAp. triya, tiya (stri-ka), Nisiriya (Nihśrīka).

-ara < OIA -kara: added to Substantives for forming Adjectives meaning 'possessing, full of' e. g. SAp. royara (rucikara) 'tasteful' in Mahāpurāṇa 17. 12. 7.

-āla < OIA -āla: affixed to Substantives to form Adjectives in the sense of 'full of, possessing'. Very popular in SAp. and in Marathi. SAp. khirāla (ksīra - 'milk'), dādhāla (dāṃstrā - 'a large tooth, fang'), haḍḍāla (haḍḍa - 'a bone'), guṇāla (guṇa - 'quality'), sohāla (śobhā - 'beauty -ālu (ya) < OIA -ālu, -aru: to Substantives to make Adjectives, chiefly in SAp. e. g. saddhā luya (śraddhā - 'faith'), dayālua (dayā - 'mercy'), tiṭṭhāluya (* tṛs-tā - 'thirst'). In these forms -ya is pleonastic -ka. -ī < OIA -ī: for the Feminine gender but used for the OIA -ā suffix.

e. g. WAp. paithī (pravīṣṭā), 'entered', -vadaṇī (vadaṇā), saṃkuḍī (saṅkata) 'beset with'; SAp. Kāmpillī (Kāmpilyā) 'N. of a town', vayaṃsi (vayasyā) 'a friend'.

-i(ya) < OIA -in with pleonastic -ka: 'possessing, having' used to form Adj. s from Nouns. SWAp. joiyo (yoga-in-ka), vairiya (vairin-ka) 'an enemy', WAp. dehiya (dehika) 'a being', ahigāriya (adhikārin-) 'an office-bearer, an official', SAp. annāriya (aññānin-) 'an ignorant person', bandiya (bandin-ka) 'a captive'.

As a matter of fact these are cases of mere svārtha -ya (-ka) added to OIA-in.

This -iya is used to form Adj. s from Adj. s. e. g. WAp. parāiya (parakiya) 'belonging to another', SAp. mahāiya (mahat-) 'possessing greatness'.

-itta < OIA -i-tra or -i-tr: 'having, possessing' applied to Nouns to make Adjectives e. g. chadāitta (chanda-itra) but interpreted as chanda-vat in WAp.

-ima < OIA -ima To Adj. s. to form Abstract nouns e. g. WAp. bhallima (*bhad-la-ima) 'goodness', SAp. dhuttima (dhūrta-) 'cunningness', Kārima (Kār-i-ma krtrima).

-ira < OIA -ira See Frisk's monograph on -ra and Dr. S. M. Katre's *Wilson Philological Lectures*, (Lecture IV): 'possessing, having', forming Adj. s. from Substantives e. g. SAp. surosira (suroṣa-) 'irritable, angry', āpandira (ānanda-) 'delighted'. It is also added to Verbs to make Adj. s. e. g. WAp. hallira (halla- 'to move') 'moving', SAp. icchirr (icch-) 'desirous'. This is closely allied with the Primary Affix noted above. It forms Adj. s. from Adj. WAp. gaggira (gadgada) 'faltering', SAp. lambira (lamba-) 'long'.

-ila < OIA -(i)la? pleonastic e. g. WAp. samīla (sama-) 'equal', SAp. aṭṭhiliya (asthi-) 'a bone', Cf. M. āthli.

This Suffix is another form of pleonastic -illa.

-illa < Allied with OIA -ila? Pertaining to, possessing, having' e. g. WAp. chailla (chāyā-) 'shadowy, possessing shadow or beauty' Cf. Hemacandra's Pk. Grammar 8. 4. 412. also Pischel-Grammatik § 595. SAp. kantilla (kānti-) 'possessing good complexion, beautiful', kaḍilla (kaṭi-) 'a loin cloth', uvarilla (upara-) 'upper garment'. Mar. 'upparṇē' 'upper garment'

is traceable to Ap. uppariyana (uparitana). -illa is also used pleonastically e. g. WAp. kudilliya (kuṭī-) 'cottage', samilla (sama) 'equally'.

-ulla, -ullaya, -ulli (fem.) MIA developments of OIA -ṭa? Pleonastic e. g. WAp. kuḍulli (kuṭī-) 'a cottage', WSAp. hia-ulla (hrdaya) 'heart', WAp. kaṇṇulla-ḍa (kaṇa-) 'an ear', vilalulla (vilola-) 'unsteady, rolling', SAp. morulla-a (mayūra-) 'a peacock', bahinulla (bhagini-) 'a sister', cidaula (cāṭaka-?) Cognate with 'ceṭaka'? maḍahulla (maḍaha-) 'small' *Deśi-nāma-mālā* 6. 117.

-evva < OIA -tavya: added to Verbs to form Adjectives of Potential Pass, Part. e. g. vaṃcevva (vañc-) to deceive, Jānevvī (jñā- 'to know') -ḍa < OIA [-ṭa: pleonastically. This is an important suffix as it forms differentia between WAp. and SAp. texts, though all Prakrit grammarians sanctioned the use of pleonastic -ḍa (fem, -ḍī) and their combination with other svārthe suffixes. (See Puruṣottama XVII. 18-19, Siddha-Hema 8. 4. 429-32, Vālmiki sūtras 3. 3. 29-32 quoted by Trivikrama, Lakṣmidhara and Siṃharāja, - the artificial combinations given by the last (XXII. 4, 29, 33. 34) should be ignored as they are not attested to in Ap. literature-Rāmaśarman III. 2. 6-7, Mārkaṇḍeya XVII. 5-7).

In this connection I may point out that pleonastic -du in Eastern Pk. grammarians is not found elsewhere in actual Ap. literature beyond the instances given by the grammarians themselves viz. rukkha-du (*rukṣa and not vrkṣa. See Louis Gray-JAOS 60.), tarunidu (tarunī-), bhūmi-du (bhūmī-), vana-du (vaṇa-).

Prof. Alsdorf regards -da as 'a classical Ap.' suffix (Intro. to *Kumārāpāla-pratibodha* (§19) The *Śrāvaka-dharma-dohā* uses it outstandingly as compared with Jōindu's works. I may give here a few instances of this. VAp. rukkha-ḍa (*rukṣa-) 'a tree', bhittiḍī (bhitti- 'to visit') Sākṣatkāra' Cf. H. M. bhet, hia-ḍa (hrdaya) 'heart', vakkhāṇaḍa (vyākhyā-na).

It is not so much current in SEAp. though SAp. manchuḍu (maṅksu) ukkaru-ḍa (utkara-) 'a dunghill' Cf. M. ukirḍā. EAp. khara-ḍa (khara-). Even today -ḍa is abundantly used in Marwari and other dialects of that region.

-*ḍa*: to Adverbs to form Adjectives e. g. WAp. *ettadava* (*iyat-*), *tēttāḍau*, *tittāṣam* (*tāwan-mātrā*), EAp. *evaḍu* (*etāvat*) -*ḍḍa* < OIA -**dra*: WSAp. *tevaḍḍa* (*tayavādra* = + *tāvat*) Cf. M. *tevaḍḥā*, *evaḍḍa* (**ayavadra* = *iyat*) Cf. M. *evaḍḥā*.

-*ni* < OIA -*ni*: a feminine suffix. WAp. *sahuni* (*sādhu-*) ' a female saint ' SAp. *Candā-ni* (*Candra-*) ' wife of Candra ' on the analogy of *Indrāni*, *hālini* (*hala-* ' a plough ') ' a peasant woman ', WSEAp. *joini* (*yogini*) a *tbh. -tta* < OIA -*va*: WAp. *manti-tta* (*mantritva*) ' ministership ', EAp. *sallatta* (*s' alya-tva*), WSAp. *marāṭṭa* ' pride ' connected with OIA *mada-* with-*ra-* glide? -*ttana* < OIA -*tvana*: applied to Substantives to make Abstract nouns, WSAp. *manuya-ttana* (*manuja-*) ' manhood, the stage of being a man ', similarly *siddha-ttana* (*siddha-*), *deva-ttana* (*deva-*) etc.

Both the above-mentioned suffixes are used with Adjectives to form Abstract substantives. WAp. *bahutta* (*bahu-*), *cavalattana* (*capala-*) ' activeness ', SAp. *pharusa-ttana* (*paruṣa-*) ' harshness ', *thaddha-ttana* (*stabdha*) ' dullness ', EAp. *tisittant* (*arṣita-*) ' thirstiness ', I-*ttiya* < OIA -*tya*: added to Adverbs to form Adjectives e. g. *ettiya* (**ayatya*) generally equated with OIA *iyat*, similarly *kettiu*, *kittiu* (**kayattya*). See Pischel-Grmmatik § 153.

-*ttula*: to make Adjectives from Adverbs e. g. *ettula* (*etāvat*), *kettula* (*kiyat*), *jettula* (*yāvat*), *tittula* (*tāvat*).

-*ppa*, -*ppana* < OIA -*tva*, -*tvana*: another development -*tta*, -*ttana* noted above. Both of these are applied to Adjectives and Substantives to make Abstract Nouns, e. g. *vaḍḍattana* and *vaḍḍappana* mean the same viz. bigness. In NIA -*ppana* is current as -*pan*, -*pan*, -*pañā*.

-*mai* < OIA -*matī*: the last members of fem. proper names e. g. *Siri-mai* (*Śrīmatī*), *Dhanamai* (*Dhanamatī*), *Kanayamai* (*Kanakamatī*).

-*ya* < OIA -*ka*: pleonastic. It is found as -*a*, *ya*, -*aya*, *iya*, -*uya* also. It is directly applied to words or is used in combination with other pleonastic affixes in their different forms. Most of these being noted above are not repeated here.

-*va* < OIA -*vat*-*mat*: an ordinary MIA development e. g. Hanu-*va* (Hanu-*mat*), candakava (candraka-*vat*).

-*vaṇḍa* < OIA **vṇḍa*: added to Substantives to make Substantives e. g. balivaṇḍa 'might, force' in SAp. balivaṇḍas dharantaho suravaihim 'in spite of the mighty efforts of the King of gods to hold it up' (Nāga-kumāra-carita 8. 3. 2.). Is there some Dravidian influence on this rarely found suffix?

-*vanta* < OIA -*vat*: 'possessing, having'. An Adjectival suffix too common in MIA to need any elaboration.

-*vi* (*ya*) < OIA -*vin*: e. g. māyāviya (māyāvin). In fact it is a normal MIA change + *svārthe-ya*.

-*ra* ? pleonastic e. g. kappa-*ra* (kalpa-) 'to cut'. Is mada-*pphara* 'pride' a contamination of mada + darpa-*ra*?

-*rīṇa* ? Not very productive. It is used as a suffix of Abstract nouns in SAp. tila-*rīṇa* (tailatva) 'oily'.

-*rima* in kārīma (kr̥trīma) 'artificial', is really -*ima* and the real derivation appears to be kār-*ima* (kr̥- 'to do') though usually it is equated with OIA kr̥trīma in sense.

-*riśa* < OIA -*dr̥śa*: applied to Adverbs to make Adjectives e. g. erīśa (idr̥śa), kerīśa (kidr̥śa) and such others.

-*la*, -*li* (fem.) < OIA -*ta*: pleonastically. It is different from -āla -ālu, -illa, -ulla connected with OIA -*ra* or -*la*. It was much productive in Ap. of all regions. WSAp. poṭṭa-*li* (poṭṭa- 'stomach'), Cf. M. H. poṭaḷi, andhalaya (andha-) 'blind', Cf. M. andhalā, SAp. navalla (nava-) 'new, novel', Cf. M. naval 'a marvellous thing', EAp. naggala (nagna-) 'a naked man'.

-(*e*) *ha u* < MIA -*isa* < OIA -*dr̥śa*: applied to Adverbs to form Adjectives e. g. jehau (yādr̥śa), tehau (tādr̥śa), kehau (kidr̥śa) etc. See Pischel- Grammatik § 262.

This list of secondary suffixes is neither exhaustive nor it is limited exclusively to Ap. Many of the above-mentioned suffixes appear in other MIA dialects also. These are designated as Ap. as they are gleaned from purely Ap. sources. Ap. is after all a stage of MIA and it is inevitable that it should share many

affixes found in other MIA dialects. I did not exclude these common elements as a treatment of MIA Nominal Stem-formants as actually attested in literature, is a desideratum today.

The following table of Secondary suffixes in Ap. gives their classification according to their powers :

(1) Suffixes added to Substantives to form Substantives : -tte, -ttana, -ppa, -ppana, -mai, -rina?, vanda.

(2) Suffixes applied to Adjectives for forming Abstract Substantives : -ima, -tta, -ttana, -ppana.

(3) Suffixes added to Substantives for forming Adjectives : -ara, -āla, -ālu (ya), -i (ya), -itta, -illa, -ira, -va, -vanta, -vi (ya).

(4) Suffixes added to Adjectives to form Adjectives : -iya, -ra, -era.

(5) Suffixes for forming Adjectives from Verbs : -ira, -evva, -rima?

(6) Suffixes added to Adverbs to form Adjectives : - (a) ḍa, - (a) ḍḍa, -ttia (ya), -ttula, -risa, -ha (u).

(7) Pleonastic Suffixes : - a, - ya, - aya, - iya, - uya, kka (rarely as in guru -kka <guru-), -ḍā, ḍi and not - du though sanctioned by Eastern Pk. grammars. -la, -li, -āla, -ālu, illa, ulla, and different combinations of the chief pleonastic suffixes ka, ḍa, la. In Ap. -ra is rare.

(8) Feminine Suffixes : ā, ī, ŋi.

I hope that this paper will be of some use to students of MIA and NIA though a complete survey of MIA Nominal Stem-formants as found in Inscriptional Prakrits, religious pkts. e. g. Pali and Ardhamāgadhī, literary Prakrits, and epic Sanskrit of Hindu, Jaina, and Buddhist writers, is a desideratum today

EPISODICAL VARIANTS IN THE MARATHI
VERSIONS OF ADI PARVAN AS
COMPARED WITH THE CRITICAL TEXT

By

M. G. PANSE

Not less than a score of Marāṭhī poets have tried their hand at rendering the Mahābhārata into Marāṭhī since the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Śāka Era. But only a few of these versions have been handed down to us in their completest form. It seems from the information available that the versions of Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā, Mādhava and Moropanta¹ are the only works that are complete. Only a few Parvans are available of the rest. Among those who have given us Marāṭhī versions, Mukteśvara is commonly regarded as the best, and is more widely known and studied than anybody else.² The Mahābhārata of Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā was almost consigned to oblivion because he had joined the Mahānubhāva Sect after finishing his Mahābhārata and as the Sect was looked upon with disfavour by the general public, his work, though the biggest of the lot in size, did not become popular. Mādhava wrote his work on the banks of the Kāveri near Tanjore and being far away from Mahārāṣṭra his work was not much known in this part of the country.³

Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā was a contemporary of Ekanātha, the grandfather of Mukteśvara. Mr. P. M. Chandorkar records a Ms. of Ādiparvan of Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā which he got in the

¹ The version of Moropant though complete is only an abridgement of the Great Epic, and to speak of the Ādiparvan alone, it may be pointed out that it has only 2459 verses in the Marāṭhī version as compared with the 7190 verses in the Sanskrit original even of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata.

² Whether Mukteśvara wrote all the eighteen parvans or not is a question which is yet undecided. It is, however, true that only five parvans of Mukteśvara are available, namely Ādi, Sabhā, Vana, Virāṭa and Sauptika.

³ Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata, p. 294.

Eraṇḍol Talukā.¹ The colophon of the Ms. says that it was completed on Thursday, the eleventh day of Śrāvana, Śaka 1532 (1610 A. D.) Sādhārana Saṁvatsara. He remarks that Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā finished his Ādiparvan in Śaka 1531 (1609 A. D.) which is the date assigned to the birth of Mukteśvara by Mr. V. L. Bhawe.² Mukteśvara completed his Sahhāparvan in 1557-8 Śaka (1635-6 A. D.)³ so he must have evidently written his Ādiparvan before that. The teacher of Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā was one Cintāmaṇi by name and Mukteśvara inherited all his literary gifts from Ekanātha, his grandfather. Mādhava also was the grandson of Ekanātha by his daughter named Umā.⁴ Bhīma Svāmi, the grand teacher of Mādhava, migrated to Tanjore in the South in 1597 Śaka (1675 A. D.) with his two disciples Ananta and Rāghava. Ananta's disciple was Meru and Rāghava's disciple was Mādhava. All these were Rāmadāsīs.⁵ Mādhava finished his Ādiparvan in 1625 Śaka (1703 A. D.), Subhānu nāma Saṁvatsara.⁶ So, if we place them chronologically Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā stands first, then comes Mukteśvara and Mādhava comes last.

It will be worthwhile to compare the three Marāṭhi versions of the Mahābhārata by these three authors, restricting the comparison to the Critical Text of the Ādiparvan published by the B. O. R. I. and to find out, if possible, the Sanskrit originals used by these authors with the help of the critical apparatus given in this edition.

For the Ādiparvan of Mukteśvara, the printed text edited by Vāmana Dāji Oka has been used. For the rest, two old Ms. from the Sarasvathi Mahal, Palace Library, Tanjore, have been selected.

- (i) Ādiparvan-author Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā, Serial No. 1386 अत 63.
Adhyāyas 40-68 (The first 39 adhyāyas are not available.)
Folios 186, Ovis 3906.

¹ Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, 12. 169.

² Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata, p. 186.

³ Ibid., 294.

⁴ South Indian Mahārāṣṭrians, p. 155.

⁵ Rāmadāsa Rāmadāsī, 14, 181.

⁶ Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata p. 297.

Size $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$, lines per folio 12, letters in a line 25.

Some chapters begin with श्रीमंगळवर्तियेनमः and end with श्री-
सांबसदासीवायेनमः whereas some other chapters begin with
श्रीसांबसदासीवायेनमः and end with श्रीमंगळवर्तियेनमः.

The date is not given in the colophon.

Colophon: येथुनी हे संपूर्ण जालें आदिपर्व । येथुनीं पुढें जाणां सभापर्व ।
पवीत्र पुरुषार्थी पांडव । ते कथा परीयेसी राया ॥ ५९ ॥ येथुनीं संपूर्ण जालें
ग्रंथ । प्रीती पावो श्रीकृष्णनाथ । जे ऐकती यकचीतें । ते भवसागर तरती
॥ १६० ॥ हा ग्रंथ जे ऐकती त्याचे सर्व दोष वीळया जाती । श्रोते वक्ते
उन्धरती । आणी पुर्वज वेताळीस ॥ १६१ ॥ ऐसी पुण्यपावन कथा । जन्मोजया
होय परिसता । सांगा पुढील पर्वीची कथा । वीष्णुदास नामया ॥ १६२ ॥ नामा
म्हणे वीष्णुदास । सांगे पारसुराचा व्यास । ते श्रोते देउनीं अवकाश । कथा ऐका
भावारथी ॥ १६३ ॥

इंती श्रीमन्माहाभारथे आदीपर्वे अष्टाष्टीतीतमोच्यायः ॥ अध्या ॥ ६८ ॥
अष्टाष्ट्यावायेवं आदिपर्वे संपूर्णमस्तु ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणार्पणमस्तु । शुभमस्तु
कल्याणमस्तु ॥ ७ ॥ श्री श्री ॥

The hand-writing of the scribe is very bad and there are mistakes of spelling and grammar.

(ii) Ādiparvan — Author Mādhavasvāmī. Serial No. 1196
अरा 4.

Adhyāyas — 1-80, Folios 303, Ovis 6145. Folios 1 and 2 give a table of contents in prose.

Size — $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, lines per-folio 11, letters in a line 38.

Date: beginning आश्विनवा ३ सुभानु नाम संवत्सर शके १६२५ Com-
pletion: मार्गशीर्ष वा ५, " " " " Place of writing: The
temple of Rāma on the left bank of Kāverī between Gaurī,
Māyora and Trivindoor (Trivendrum?)

Scribes: Adhyāyas 1-61 — Sanjeevarao Mohapat, Adhyāyas
62-80 — Bhujaṅgācāre Muddiyā. Every chapter begins with
॥ श्री रामकर्ता ॥

The hand-writing is very good, thick and pressed from above.

This Ms. is presented by Śarabhoji to his son-in-law Rāma-
svāmī Mohite in Śaka 1746 (1824 A. D.)¹

¹ The Ms. means not only that of the Ādiparvan but of the complete Mahābhārata of which this Ādiparvan is a part.

श्रीमन्तंजपुरीचा राजा जो शरभ सर्व वाखाणी ।
 रामस्वामी मोहिते त्याचा जामात गुणखाणी ॥ १ ॥
 शालीवाह शकाच्या गणितें पाहतां बहूत नेमानें ।
 सतराशे शेताळीस वर्षे गेली नराचिया मानें ॥ २ ॥
 तारण वर्षीं श्वशुरें भारत नामा तया दिला ग्रंथ ।
 जैसैं जनकें आंढण दिधलें रामा गजाश्वपात्तिरथ ॥ ३ ॥

If we compare these versions with the Critical Edition and study the additions, the omissions and other variations it is possible to ascertain from the information available in the Critical apparatus which of the manuscript traditions is followed by these poets and with what particular Ms. these versions could be identified.

For his Critical Edition, Dr. Sukthankar has collated about fifty Mss. of the Ādi from the available stock. The Mss. material is divided into recensions (i) Northern and (ii) Southern. They are again divided into a number of sub-recensions corresponding to different provincial scripts in which these texts are written. The Northern recension is sub-divided into

(a) North-Western group with Śārada (S) script and Devanāgarī allied to Śārada or Kāśmīrī (K) and

(b) Central group having Nepālī (N) Maithilī (V), Bengālī (B), and Devanāgarī version other than K (D) versions of Arjuna Miśra (Da) Nīlakanṭha (Dn) Ratnagarbha (Dr) and Composite version of Devanāgarī (D) Southern recension has Telugu (T), Grantha (G) and Malyālam (M).¹

If the Ādi parvan of Mukteśvara is read side by side with the critical text it will be seen that some of the variant passages are found either in the critical apparatus or in Appendix I. There are not less than three chapters in Mukteśvara each of which is entirely to be traced in App. I as also many verses at the end of the 14th chapter.

¹ Letters in the brackets indicate the abbreviations used in the critical apparatus.

Prolegomena, pp. V-IX.

5 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

<i>MK.</i>	<i>App. I</i>	<i>Mss. in agreement</i>
14	} 41	K3-4, N̄2-3, V1, B, D.
		42 K3-4, N̄, V1, B, D.
		43 K4, N̄, V1, B, D.
32	} 78	Da1, D5, S, K4, Dn, D2-4.
		79. 1-10 K4, D4-5, S.
33	} 80	N, V1, B, Da, Dn, D1-2, K4, D4-5, S.
		81. 1-9 K4, N̄ V1, B, D, M5-8, T, G-
44	103	K4, D4, S.

If the Mss. agreeing with the text of MK. are further analysed we find that Mss. K4 and D agree in 8 cases while Mss. N̄ and B do so in 5 cases. In addition to these some verbal changes will be found mentioned in the critical apparatus.

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Cr. Ed. footnote No.</i>	<i>Mss. in agreement</i>
28.8 ^c अशोक	116.3.1246	N2, B5-6, Da, D4-5, S, K4.
28.8 ^b कुरवक	1247	K4, N2, Da, D4.
41.36 ^a सुचित्र	177.9	Ko3.4, N, V1, B1.5, Dn, D1.4-5 M3.5.
41.37 ^b विदण्ड	177.11	K4, N2-3, V1, Dn, D1.
47.42 ^b प्रभंजन	207.17	K (except K1), N2, Dn, D4, M3.

On analysing these we find that Ms. K4 occurs in all the 5 cases, N2 in 5 and D4 in 4. Some passages incorporated in the text of Muktesvara but not found in the critical text could be seen running parallel to those in Appendix I.

<i>MK.</i>	<i>App. I.</i>	<i>Mss. in agreement</i>
26.1-9	61	K4, N, B, D.
26.70-74	63	All Mss except S1, Ko. 3
29.102-161	72	K4, N, B, D.
36.109	85	K4, N, V1, B, D, M, T, G.
49.1-46	118	N, (S1, Ko. 1-4) * ¹
49.85-95	119	Ko4, D4-5.

Here we find Ms. K4 repeated 6 times, N. & D 5 times and B 4 times. The table below shows some minor agreements in Muktesvara with the variants given in the critical apparatus.

¹ Ibid., p. 11.

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Cr. Ed. footnote No.</i>	<i>Mss. in agreement</i>
7.99-102	37. 26.402	K3-4, N, V1, B, D, T1, G,
12.39-42	53.22.463	Ko4, N, V1, B, D, K2-3.
15.104	65.7.589	Ko4, Da1, S.
16.26-27	67.6.605	K4, D4, S.
18.135	76.35.791	Ko4, Dn, D4.5.
19.132	80.9.840 ^{ca}	Ko4, Dn, D2-4.
19.143	80.25.851	Ko4, D1-4.
24.13	98.5.1035	K3-4, N2, B, D, T2.
24.19-20	98.13.1036	K3-4, N2, B, D.
24.24	98.17.1038	K4, B1.5-6, Da, D2-5.
24.43	99.5.1045	Ko3-4, Da1, D1-4.
25.20	101.16.1096	K3-4, N, D, S.
25.27	101.24.1099	K4, N2, D4.
26.65 ^{ca}	107.11	S1, K, Da1, D4.5.
30.26.36	121.2.1330	K4, N, B, D.
36.38	121.2.1331	K4, N, B, D, S.
132-135	122.38. 1377	K4, N, B, D, T2, G1-2.4-5.
35.38	133.18.1458	K4, N, V1, B, Da, D1.2-4, T1, Dn.
36.39	135.9.1477	K4, N, V1, B, D, T1.
38.105	152.19.1673 ^{ab}	K2.4.
40.92	166.15.1781	K4, D5.
41.49-55	178.15.1824	K3-4, N, V1, B, D.
"	.1827	K4, N2, Dn, D2-4.5.
41.63	179.13.1841 ^{ab}	K, N1.2, D.
41.70	179.15.1846	K4, N2-3, V1, B, D.
46.52 ^b	201.3.2000	K4, N2-3, V1, B, D.

Looking to the table above we see that the Ms. K4 agrees in 26 cases, D in 24, N in 16 and B in 13. Thus Mss. N, B, D and K4 could be recorded as more common in the majority of cases. It is peculiar to note that K4 is present in every instance and if we add all our findings it will be seen that in 45 cases K4 is present in 45, D in 41, N in 31 and B in 22. From this data we are inclined to fix K4 to be the Ms. belonging to the same tradition as the Sanskrit original before Mukteśvara. The following unique instances to be found in K4 alone lend further support to the conclusion arrived at.

<i>MK.</i>		<i>Cr. Ed.</i>	<i>Mss. in agreement</i>
4.97-100	Nilakanṭha episode	App. I 10	K4
10.39 ^c		46.41.433	"
28.9	भ्रमर कुंकारीती	116. 3. 1248	"

Ms. K4 that has been chosen for the critical text gives Śaka 1616¹ as its date and Mukteśvara wrote his Ādi parvan before Śaka 1557. So it is quite probable that Mukteśvara had before him a text of which Ms. K4 must be a copy. Or in other words, the text before Mukteśvara and the copyist of the Ms. K4 of the critical text are of the same family, the former being the older of the two.

For want of sufficient space at our disposal it is not possible to give all the passages from Mādhava's version showing its agreements with the critical text in order to fix up the Sanskrit Ms. before him and hence some proper names alone have been taken up for consideration.

<i>Mādhava</i>	<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Mss. in agreement.</i>
Adh. 22.22.34	52.5-17	
शल	"	N2, V1, B1. 4. 5, Da, Dn, D1-4. 6. 7.
पाल	"	N, VI, B, Da, Dn, D1-4. 6. 7, M1. 4. 5.
हलिमक	"	K2. 4, N, V1, B3-5, D, M4.
कालवेग	"	B3-5, D.
पिछक	"	B1-3, Da.
हिरण्यबाहु	"	K3, N3, VI, B4-5, D, G1.
कक्षण	"	कक्षण Ko.2.4.
पिण्डसेक्त	"	N, VI, B, Da, Dn, D1-3. 7.
उत्तिक	"	Da उच्छिक, B1. 4-5, D2. 3, 6. 7, G.
सकुर	"	B1, D4.
सुरोमामहाहनु	"	N2, B, D.
सहतापन	"	N2, B1. 5, Dn, D7.
शृंगवेर	"	N3, VI, B1. 3. 5, Dn, D1-4. 7.
प्रांतरांतक	"	B5.
पिटरमुख	"	N2, V1, B, Da, Dn, D1. 3. 7.
प्रहास	"	N1. 2, B, D.
अमाहट	"	N1-2, VI, B1. 3. 5, Da, Dn.
दुषेण	"	D3. 4. 6. 7.
मानसव्यय	"	K4, N1. 2, D.
सखिन्न	"	V1, B, Da, Dn, D1. 3. 4. 6. 7.
चित्रवेगी	"	G1, M3.
इरावान	"	N2, B3, Da, Dn, D1. 3. 4. 6. 7.
अंगवंग पौंङ्ग etc.	"	D4, S.
	"	K3. 4, B, D.

¹ Ibid., p. XII.

In the above table Ms. D4 has 15 agreements and Mss. B1 and D1 each 14 agreements in 23 cases mentioned above. As Mādhava belonged to the south it may be taken for granted that he must presumably have before him Ms. D4 at the time of writing his version. In other words, Mādhava had before him a Ms. of a family to which belongs D4 of the critical text.¹

The version of Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā does not seem to have any particular Sanskrit Ms. in view. Generally speaking it has the same thread of narration so far as the story of the Mbh. is concerned but it can not be read side by side with the critical text because of its enormous episodical additions to be traced elsewhere and abrupt omissions of many episodes without any apparent justification. There are many arbitrary changes which are responsible for a good deal of confusion. In the course of narration Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā sometimes changes the sequence of events in some of the episodes.

The version of Mādhava does not very much differ from the text given in the Critical Edition. The minor changes to be seen here and there are due to the fact that it is only an adaptation and not a word to word translation of the original text before him. We have fixed D4 to be the Ms. before Mādhava. Dr. Sukthankar places Mss. D2 and D5 akin to K3-6 and he classes them together with advantage. But he says "D4 contains notably large additions from Southern Mss., additions which are either entered on the margin or, when the marginal space does not suffice written on supplementary folios."² May be, that it must have been influenced by popular recensions of the land where it was preserved. Mādhava also belonged to the South and hence he must have been faithful even to the marginal additions which were probably popular then. The *Ādiparvan* of Mādhava when read side by side with that of Mukteśvara the stream of their stories is seen to run parallel and even in minor details they differ only where their Sanskrit texts differ. Whatever other differences we see between the two they are due mainly to their different styles.

¹ The date of composition of the Mbh. of Mādhava is Śaka 1625 where as that of the Ms. D4 of the critical edition is not given.

² Prolegomena, p. LXXI.

The texts before them also do not fundamentally differ except in some detailed account. This observation is supported by the fact that the Mss. before both of them, though of different classes, have got the same influence of the Southern Mss. Like D4, K4 also is a Ms. that is dominated by some extracts from the Southern Ms.¹ Moreover, looking to the table, that is prepared to fix the Ms. before Mukteśvara we find that Ms. D4 is there with Ms. K4 in 38 places, out of 45 which obviously proves that D4 and K4 are akin to each other.

The additions on the margin of the text can also be traced through some passages that are incorporated in the very body of the Marāṭhī version of Mukteśvara. It is noteworthy that when these passages are compared with the critical apparatus Ms. K4 is absent in the list which shows that these passages must be added on in Ms. K4.

<i>Mukteśvara</i>	<i>Cr. Texts</i>	<i>Ms. in agreement</i>
23.109-111	96.6.998	N2, V1, D4, S.
25.133-143	App. I. 59	D4.
25.156-174	App. I. 60	D4-5, S.
30.73-79	App. I. 75	Ś1, K4-3.
45.116-124	App. I. 107	D4, S.
45.129-130, 140	199.24.1985	D4, S.
45.147-156	199.36.1991	D4.

Here we clearly see the influence of D4 and S which are the representatives of the Southern recensions. This apparently shows that Mukteśvara, without caring to eliminate the extra matter, has taken the text as it was and blended it into a homogeneous whole.

All the passages in the Mukteśvara version which show the marginal additions and also those cited previously for fixing the Ms. before him may be regarded as additions if the critical text only is considered leaving aside the critical apparatus because none of them occurs in the text itself. There are many more additions found for which Mukteśvara alone is responsible. Such additions are of four kinds:

- (i) Social teaching.
- (ii) Descriptions.
- (iii) Lists.
- (iv) Miscellaneous accretions.

¹ Ibid., XCV.

(i) Social Teaching

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Cr. Text (approximately)</i>
4.62-66	Cooperate with anybody to achieve a noble cause.	15
5.38-44	Devotion to Viṣṇu	20.15
7.120-133	Plight in isolation	37.26
8.69-76	Results of curse by a Brahman	40
9.49-57	Addition to sensual pleasure	41
11.22-28	Truth always prevails	48.15
16.92-105	Restrictions on a woman of noble birth.	68.11
18.48-53	A bitter word spoils everything.	73.31

Muktesvara, like all the other poet-saints, does not lose an opportunity to sermonize on the moral behaviour in this world. Muktesvara himself being a householder preaches the ideals of a householder's life. Such passages do not distinctly stand out nor can they be recognised at once because they are put into the mouths of some of the characters in keeping with their turn of thought and circumstance. For instance, when Indra goes to Śamkara for advice at the time of churning the ocean the latter advises him that under such circumstances one should come down from one's high level to effect a compromise for the achievement of a noble cause. Similarly, when people prayed Garuḍa, by whose brilliance they were dazzled, Garuḍa assured them that he would not hurt them if they were devoted to Lord Viṣṇu. When Kanva thinks of sending Śakuntalā along with her son to Dusyanta he speaks out his thoughts before his disciples and here he expatiates on the social restrictions on a woman born in a noble family.

In Mādhava we do not find such passages inserted in his text. He is a faithful narrator never digressing from the text before him except in one or two cases.

(ii) Descriptions.

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Cr. Text (approximately)</i>
10.64-114	Scene of Serpent Sacrifice	47.19-25
13.11-20	Vaiśampāyana and his audience	54
19.42	Old age	78.17
19.116-136	King and Society of the day	78.36
28.12-24	Mādrī's union with Pāṇḍu	116.13

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Cr. Text (approximately)</i>
29	Garden party and poisoning of Bhīma	
36.54-61	Dark night	136
36.69-82	Morning	136
41	Svayamvara Mandapa	175

These descriptions together with those of battles between Gods and Garuḍa, Bhīṣma and the princes for Ambā and Ambālikā. Drupada and the Pāṇḍavas, and Bhīṣma's fights with Hidimba and Baka are not mere additions but in Mukteśvara they assume an altogether different form. The descriptions of morning and night are absolutely original. In the scene of the Garden party of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, the details of their play and the variety in food stuffs are Mukteśvara's peculiarities. In the descriptions of battles we find several anachronisms when we come to the lists of weapons and the technical terms in fighting. These descriptions are so very graphic and lively that they make us believe that the battles are taking place before our eyes.

Mādhava's descriptions, on the contrary, are short and they give only an idea of the scene scrupulously restricting himself to the text, he suddenly lets his pen loose when he describes the Mandapa erected for the princes to assemble for the Svayamvara of Draupadī and the marriage ceremony. This might be the result of some local manuscript tradition. This unique instance shows that Mādhava is as capable of describing a particular incident in a picturesque manner of Mukteśvara. Mādhava does not want to display his poetical abilities. His main object seems to be to render the Sanskrit Mahābhārata into Marāṭhī. In doing so, whenever he finds it necessary, he even shortens some passages from the text itself expressly giving the reasons. His descriptions have, therefore, suffered in effectiveness.

The descriptions of Viṣṇudāsa Nāma are lengthy and full of minute details especially in the case of fights. For instance, Bhīma's fights with demons are described at not less than six or seven places. These are detailed, extensive and effective to a certain extent but they do not come up to the level of those of Mukteśvara. The scene of Draupadī Svayamvara has been so much shortened by Viṣṇudāsa Nāma that the most beautiful scene looks like a dove with its wings chopped off.

(iii) Lists

<i>MK.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Cr. Text (approximately)</i>
4.115	14 jewels	16.34-36
26.26-29	Countries	
27.122	„	113.7 ^a
33.22 ^d 25 ^c	„	
30.159-162	Fights	123.10
31.37-38	Weapons	123
40.85	People	164.35

When the ocean was being churned by the gods and the demons there came out fourteen jewels of which Mukteśvara gives an entire list while in the critical text and that of Mādhava only five viz. Śrī, Surā, Soma, Turaga and Kaustubha are mentioned. There is also a list of eatables served to the Pāṇḍavas at the time of the garden party.¹ The names of the hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the names of the serpents sacrificed are not additions. They are found in the original text of the Mbh. in the list of the names of serpents however given by Mādhava some names such as Vikhāra, Śāraṇa, Yeraka, Daṇḍala, Kusāraka etc. are given which cannot be traced anywhere. The names of people Jāvi, Jaṅgi, Nāyi, English, Kābe, Kāvaṭe, Khorāsāna Multāna and people with the heads of horse, cow, a donkey, etc.² are Mukteśvara's additions. In this and in the list of weapons we find many obvious anachronisms. Mādhava gives a list of kings who were discomfited when handling the bow in the Draupadī Svayamvara scene.³

(iv) Miscellaneous:

Miscellaneous additions are innumerable as they are bound to be and hence all of them cannot be given here. Apparently no definite reason can be assigned to them. Some of these examples may be given as under: (a) Addition of words and names etc: Durvāsa,⁴ Dattātreyā,⁵ Trimśatteṇakotī.⁶ (b) Additions made unconsciously in the course of narration e. g. Dharma's ring that fell in the well, or the cane tied for placing the Bhāsa bird on the tree.⁷ (c) To make her argument more convincing Gangā adds one more reason by saying that she stayed with Śantanū

¹ MK 29.82-90. ² MK 15.6-11. ³ MD 70.63-4. ⁴ MK 4.50.

⁵ MK 17.21. ⁶ MK 4.80b. ⁷ MK 30.106 and 211.

to fulfil his desire for a son.¹ (d) There are many passages in the critical text which are in the form of narration, but Mukteśvara has turned them into dialogues to make the presentation dramatic and effective. In this process there are some additions. (e) Mukteśvara gives a list of similes in one or two places.² Introduction of Ch. IX is an addition. There is a digression on the Six Systems of Philosophy.³ Descriptions of Mohinī, Mādrī⁴, etc. and praises of Kṛṣṇa by Dharma⁵ and Arjuna⁶ are additions.

Omissions

The Mahābhārata of Mukteśvara is not an epic in the technical sense of the term. He is interested in the story of Mbh. He has, therefore, purposely omitted detailed descriptions. Apart from this, we find some other passages omitted by Mukteśvara from Ms. K4 i. e. from his Sanskrit original. Some of them are noted below :

<i>Cr. Apparatus</i>	<i>footnote No.</i>	<i>MK (approximately)</i>
46. 25	430	10. 32
59. 20	536	14. 28
96. 6	998 ^{abc}	23. 109-111
98. 17	1038	24. 24
122. 13	1362, 1363.	30. 105
122. 15	1365	
122. 18	1368	
166. 15	1781	40. 92
76		30. 73-79

App. I. Drona gives a big pot to Aśvathāmā and other pupils Kamandalū so that his son should finish his work earlier and get more lessons but Arjuna gets lessons with Aśvatthāmā.

App. I 100. MK 42.121. Nālayaṇi goes to Himālaya to win the favour of Meheśvara. She wanted a husband and she uttered it for five times, so Meheśvara said that she would get five husbands. This is an account of previous birth of Draupadī.

These and such other passages are to be found in Ms. K4 but not in the MK-version. There seems to be no reason why MK should neglect these passages except that they do not affect in the least his plan of narrating the story of Mahābhārata.

¹ MK 22.108. ² MK 10.46-56; 35.128-32. ³ MK 15.84-93.

⁴ MK 4.128-57; 28.15-8. ⁵ MK 46.28-46. ⁶ MK 48.104-14.

The rest of Mukteśvara's omissions can be classified as under:

- (i) Descriptions and praises. (ii) Unnecessary details.
 (iii) Repetitions. (iv) Conversations. (v) Miscellaneous.
 (i) Descriptions and praises.

<i>Cr. Text.</i>		<i>MK,</i>
19.4-17 ^d	Ocean	5.20
26	Himālaya	5.124
118.5-30	Funeral of Pāṇḍu and the lamentation of citizens	28.90
159.45-51	Divine horse	40.45
3.59-70	Praise of Āśvinīkumāras	2.49
3.139-146	Praise of Nāgas	2.121
220.22-29	Mandapāla praises Agni	50.23

These omissions can be explained by the fact that Mukteśvara did not want to translate literally the Mbh. These passages were, in his opinion, digressions and had they been retained the continuity of the episodes would have been disturbed and the attention of the readers diverted. It is, however, noteworthy that instead of omitting the descriptions of battles he describes them in their minute details very vividly and forcefully probably because he was preparing, though unconsciously, a background that was helpful to Śivāji in getting the cooperation of the brave Mahārāṣṭrians. In Mādhava we see all these passages in an abridged form. Mādhava drops the praise of Āśvinīkumāras to save space.¹ Mandapāla's praise of Agni is only referred to in Visṇudāsa Nāmā.²

(ii) Unnecessary details :—

(a)	Upādhyāyini, the wife of Dhaumya, after her bath was about to curse Uttan̄ka	...	3.126 ^b
(b)	Ṛsis describe the merits of Śaunaka	...	4.5-7
(c)	Vinatā blesses Garuda before flight	...	24.7-9
(d)	Śeṣa says that he expected the very boon which Brahmā bestowed on him	...	32.17
(e)	Brahmā praises Śeṣa	...	32.23
(f)	Deplorable plight of the ancestor of Jarat-kāru	...	41. 4-29

¹ MD 8.87. ² Vn 67.

(g)	Account of Daksa genealogy	...	70. 1-29
(h)	Kaca's brave deeds	...	71.25-29
(i)	Details of the Ambā-Ambālikā Svayamvara		96.
(j)	Quarrel between Arjuna and the Gandharva about the use of the Ganges.	...	158.15-19
(k)	Obstacles met with by Vasiṣṭha trying to commit suicide	...	167. 1-10
(l)	The anger of Aurva and the advice given to him to drown his anger in the sea	...	171. 1-20
(m)	The advice given by Śamika	...	38. 3-10
have been omitted here as Mukteśvara has made use of it elsewhere.			
(iii)	Repetitions :		
(a)	All the introductions of Vaiśampāyana.		
(b)	Anticipation of episodes like Aṇimāṇḍavya etc.	57.74-106	
(c)	Anticipation of episodes like birth of Śakuntalā		8.
(d)	Why Puru is enthroned	...	80.12-23.
(e)	Yayāti remains in the sky at the time of his fall from the heaven	...	81.4-12.
(f)	Account of the birth of Droṇa and his difference with Drupada	...	154.
(iv)	Conversations :		
(a)	Questionaire of Uttan̄ka	...	3.166-171g
(b)	Agni argues with Bhrgu	...	7.1-11.
(c)	Śarmiṣṭhā and Yayāti	...	77.14-25
(d)	Arjuna and Aṅgārāparṇa	...	159.
(e)	Vargā and the Brahman	...	209.1-22.
(f)	Arjuna and Vāsudeva	...	211 17-21
(v)	Miscellaneous :		
(a)	Somaśravā's ability to protect against any evil except that which is inflicted by Mahādeva		3.15 ^a
(b)	Janamejaya went to Takṣaśilā after directing his brothers to attend on Somaśravā	...	3.18 ^b
(c)	Upādhyāyasya te kārṣṇāyasā dantāḥ bhavato hīranmayā bhaviṣyanti	...	3.75cd
(d)	Śarmiṣṭhā retired to her room thinking that Devayānī was drowned. Śarmiṣṭhā was a scheming girl (pāpaniścayā)	...	73.13 ^b
(e)	Bhīmā's challenge to Hidimba	...	141.1-12,

Such miscellaneous omissions are numerous and are not so very important from the point of view of narrating the story of the Mbh.

The name 'Dagdharatha' was, no doubt, important in its place because the chariot of Citraratha was burnt and hence he had become Dagdharatha. The name has got an episodical importance but it is omitted by Mukteśvara. It is also omitted by Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā. Together with it Viṣṇudāsa omits reference to the facts that Rsi Dhaumya was taken as the purohita and that there was the exchange of Cākṣuṣi Vidyā and Agnyastra. Viṣṇudāsa altogether omits the following passages :

- (a) Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana meets the Pāṇḍavas on the way to the capital of Drupada for the Svayamvara of Kṛṣṇā.
- (b) Saṁvarana Tapati episode.
- (c) Viśvāmitra's taking away of the celestial cow by force.
- (d) Kalmāṣapāda episode.
- (e) Account of Vaśiṣṭha's mental disturbance when he tried to commit suicide.
- (f) Demon sacrifice of Parāśara.

Towards the end when describing the "Khāṇḍava Vana " Fire he only refers to the episode of Mandapālā and Jaritā. The episodes that are only referred to are as good as omitted. In like manner, Mādhava refers to the Saudāsa Madayanti episode, but omits the birth of Duḥśalā and the pure conduct of Yāja and Upayāja. The Nīlakanṭha episode which is found in Mukteśvara is omitted by both Mādhava and Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā while the Nālāyani episode which is omitted by Mukteśvara is only referred to by Viṣṇudāsa and dealt with at length by Mādhava.

Changes :

There are chiefly three types of changes

- (i) Abridgements,
- (ii) Amplifications, and
- (iii) Verbal and factual changes.

(i) ABRIDGEMENTS

<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Mukteśvara</i>	<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Mukteśvara</i>
3.102-104	2.88	7.12-26	3.28-31
3.111-115	2.94 ^d -95	22	5.57-58
3.178-195	2.148-152	33	7.32-38
5	3.4-13	37.1-13	7.87-88

<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>	<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>
55-56	13.23-44	134.7-15	36.19-20
58	14.1-17	142	37.47
68.67-71	16.163-164	145-147	38.12-33
70.30-46	17.1-6	160-163	40.49-64
71.25-51	17.91-97	174	40.163-170
111.11-17	27.70	215	48.97-101
131.12-18	35.44	223.1-6	50.57

(ii) AMPLIFICATIONS

<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>	<i>Cr. Text</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>
9.3-5	3.42-52	68.17-18	16.115-127
15.1-3	4.42-47	68.74 ^b	16.176-179
16.14-23	4.82-110	73.8-11	18.11-21
20.3	5.20-23	73.15-24	18.26-41 ^b
23.8 ^b	5.62-64	79.16	18.118-125
37.13	7.89-91	83.2	19.177-182
39.16	8.35-39	94.67	23.43-51
40.8	8.83 ^b -86 ^b	102.4-14	25.41-74
43.1-10	9.17-35	102.16 ^a	25.75-76
49.28 ^b	11.65-74	110.43-45	27.39-55
51	11.144-170	124.10-13	31.6-20
53.20	12.33-39	133.18-27	35.83-104
67.6-14	16.22-55		

[For (iii) Verbal and factual changes see table at the end].

Some more changes are to be found in Visṇudāsa Nāmā. They are, as a matter of fact, additions to the episodes.

(1) In the episode of Bhīma's fight with Hidimba, the Pāṇḍavas sleep only because the night came on. Arjuna and Bhīma were to keep watch at night one after the other. First half of the night Arjuna kept the watch and awoke Bhīma at mid-night to take his turn.

(2) When Bhīma meets Hidimbā he tells her all the detailed information since they left the lac-house treacherously set on fire by the Kauravas.

(3) Bhīma tells Hidimbā that he has to go to Ekacakrā and that she should carry him on her back. Upon this Hidimbā tells him of the demon Baka who required a cartful of food daily.

This is quite inconsistent because Visṇudāsa tells us a short time back that Bhīma tore the womb of Singāvati and caught

the phoetus in hand which slipped out and fell in the forest near Ekacakrā. The phoetus is Baka himself.

There is one such inconsistency to be found in Mādhava also. He tells us that poisoned Bhīma when thrown in the lake by the Kauravaṣ was brought back to consciousness by a nāgakanyā named Padmāvati by giving him a sip of nectar. Highly obliged, Bhīma lived with her for some days - on her request - and begot a son whose name is Babhruvāhana (Adh. 52). This in the first place, is a change in the episode and in the second place it is inconsistent with his own narration of Babhruvāhana being born of Citrāṅgadā from Arjuna (Adh. 77).

Mādhava changes the end of the Baka episode like this :

When Bhīma returned to Ekacakrā after killing Baka he was a terror to the citizens as also to the king who ran away along with his fighting force. The town was practically evacuated. The Brahman - the host of the Pāṇḍavas - reported to the king the facts of Bakavadha. Peace was then restored. The king received the Brahman warmly and rewarded him ceremonially. - It is peculiar that the king does not enquire even by a word about the hero who killed the demon.

Subhadrā haraṇa episode is totally changed by Mādhava :

Arjuna, on hearing reports about the extraordinary beauty of Subhadrā assumed the guise of an ascetic and went to Dvārakā with a desire to carry her away. In this disguise Arjuna saw Kṛṣṇa but now could not bow down to him in the midst of the crowd that had assembled to see the newly arrived ascetic. Arjuna was confounded and could not praise Kṛṣṇa even mentally. Kṛṣṇa, however, decided to make Arjuna bow down to him. But when Kṛṣṇa asked the ascetic his whereabouts he straight-way told the fact keeping back nothing. Kṛṣṇa told Arjuna that on the next day there was a fair on the Raivata Mountain and all the members of the family would go there, leaving Subhadrā at home to attend upon the ascetic. Kṛṣṇa would leave a chariot with bow and arrow and join the procession to facilitate Arjuna to run away with Subhadrā and that Balarāma, if furious, would be managed by Kṛṣṇa himself.

When Balarāma proposed to keep back Subhadrā at home to attend upon the ascetic, Kṛṣṇa, on purpose, dissuaded him from doing so. As a result Balarāma's confidence in the ascetic was

increased as was expected and Subhadrā was left alone with the ascetic who put Subhadrā into the chariot that Kṛṣṇa had kept at his disposal and eloped with her. The servants reported the fact to Balarāma. All of them pursued and overcame the ascetic who told them that he was Arjuna and had purposely done all this because he knew that Subhadrā was offered to Duryodhana. Balarāma charged Kṛṣṇa with the conspiracy.

Peculiar versions of the different episode in Visnudāsa Nāma :

The Pāṇḍavas¹ escaped from the lac-house and as they were very tired Bhīma carried the rest with Kuntī from forest to forest. He placed them all in a forest and went in search of water as all of them were thirsty. For water he wandered for a long time and in his wanderings met with a huge mountain-like serpent who asked Bhīma "ko jīvati?" Bhīma could not answer the question and hence the serpent swallowed him. Seeing that Bhīma did not return for a very long time Kuntī became very anxious and on consultation with Dharma sent Arjuna to find him out. Arjuna met that very serpent who asked him the same question. Arjuna failed to answer it and was also swallowed up. Nakula and Sahadeva who followed Arjuna met with the same fate. Then came Dharma who was confronted with the same question "ko jīvati?" Dharma gave a prompt reply :

विष्णुभक्त जाण जीवति । पंचवर्णं प्रतिपालिती । सो जीवति भूमंडळी ॥ 63b-d
सर्वा आगळा परोपकारी । वेदाची आज्ञा वाहे सिरि । सो जीवति गा अवधारी ॥

66b-d

ज्याची रसना रसवंती । आणि भार्या असे गुणवंती । लक्ष्मी भोगुनीया त्यागिती
सो जीवति भूमंडळी ॥ 69

जो नुपेक्षी शरणागता । सद्भावे पूजी अतीता । सो जीवति तत्त्वता ॥ 72

With each one of these replies the serpent let out of his mouth all the four brothers one after the other in the order in which they were swallowed. The serpent told Dharma that formerly he was a prince of demons (daityarāja) by name Naghoka (Nahuṣa). He had become a serpent by curse that he would not be restored to a celestial body (divyadeha) until he was touched by the Pāṇḍavas. Then all of them took water for Kuntī.

Bhīma² was staying with Hidimbā leading a life of enjoyment in the forest. Hidimbā when alone once met with a demon

¹ Adhyāya 43. This is found in the Ajagara parvan of the Vanaparvan.

² Adhyāya 43. This is entirely different from the Kirmira vadha parvan of the Vana parvan.

Krimirā whose wife Singāvati had a pregnancy longing to offer the heads of the Pāṇḍavas to her goddess-Kāmaksi. Krimirā was the son of Vṛdhaksata, the son of Brahmā. Krimirā first went to Duryodhana who told him that the Pāṇḍavas were burnt in the lac-house. He told Singāvati accordingly but she was not convinced and would give up her design. Krimirā therefore, set out once more and he met Hiḍimbā, who on hearing his difficulty, unconsciously gave out the fact that the Pāṇḍavas were living in her own premises. She did not forget to add that Bhīma killed all the demons that came in his way. Krimirā, therefore, created a lake and on its bank built a temple of Śiva and sat there in the guise of a Rsi. When the Pāṇḍavas came to the temple they bowed down to him, told their history and went into the temple to worship Śiva. No sooner did they enter inside the temple than the doors were closed. Krimirā lifted up the temple and took it to his own place.

When Hiḍimbā and Bhīma were together Bhīma felt restless for no apparent cause. Hiḍimbā told him of the arrival of Krimirā and his carrying away of the other Pāṇḍavas. On being instructed by Bhīma, Hiḍimbā carried him to the temple of Kāmaksi, left him there and went back. Bhīma entered into the temple, smashed the image of Kāmaksi and sat in her place with the same poise. When the servants of Krimirā came forth to worship the goddess they were frightened by the terrifying looks of the image, hence they closed the door and poured the Pañcāmṛta from an opening at the top. Bhīma drank all that. After a little while the four Pāṇḍavas together with Kuntī were brought before the temple for sacrifice. Bhīma, all of a sudden came out of the temple, killed Krimirā and flung him into the fire.

Then Bhīma went to Singāvati, tore her womb open and took the phoetus out. But it slipped from his hand and fell in the forest near the city of Ekacakrā. The name of that phoetus is Baka. Bhīma went to Hiḍimbā and asked her to take all of them to Ekacakrā which she did.

On¹ the way while the Pāṇḍavas were touring, Bhīma was hungry. Dharma had only a ring - Mudrikā - left with him.

¹ Adhyāya 48. This, as far as I know, cannot be traced in the Mbh.

⁷ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

He handed it over to the hungry brother who went to the town near by and tried to get food. Nobody in the town was prepared to exchange food for that Royal ring through the fear of the king who would arrest the possessor of it. The minister of the king agreed to give Bhīma food to his satisfaction on exchange of the ring. Bhīma was served with food but was not satisfied though the entire stock in his house had been exhausted. As the condition was not satisfied Bhīma asked for his Mudrikā back. The minister would not give it. Bhīma struck the minister and those of his party and took the ring away.

Nārada¹ went to the Pāṇḍavas and fixed their days with Draupadī. After this he requested Bhīma to fight with the demon - Kapilāsura who lived in Śonitapura. On the outskirts of that town Bhīma fought with Mugutamani and Kamalāsura, the sons of Kapilāsura and then with Kapilāsura himself. When Bhīma was exhausted he sat on the back of a camel and started back for Vārāṇasī. On the way Bhīma was asleep when the camel turned back to Śonitapura and left him at the gates. That night Bhīma was killed by Kapila.

Kuntī and Arjuna in Vārāṇasī and Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā dreamed at the same time that Bhīma had been killed. Nārada went to them the next morning and related the story in details. Kṛṣṇa and Nakula went to Śonitapura. At Kṛṣṇa's behest Nakula collected all the limbs of Bhīma and he was brought back to life with the help of Sañjivani Vidyā. Kapilāsura was turned into a buffalo.

Kṛṣṇa² and Nakula went to Śonitapura at the place of Kapilāsura. At that time Kapilāsura was out and so Kapilāvatī, his wife, received them warmly. Nakula being a very handsome youth she was enamoured of him. Afterwards when Kapilāsura was killed in a fight she was married with Nakula.

Arjuna³ broke the rule laid down by Nārada so he went on pilgrimage. On his way he met Hanumanta in the Śrīgāravana of Rāmacandra. He slightly referred to the prowess of Rāma by blaming him for not having erected a bridge of

¹ Adhyāyas 56-8. This is equally untraceable. Cf. The story of Osiris of the Egyptian Mythology.

² Adhyāya 59. This episode untraceable.

³ Adhyāya 62.

arrows for the monkeys to pass. Hanumanta got angry and asked Arjuna to prepare a bridge of arrows with which Hanumanta would like to try his strength. The condition was that if the bridge was broken Arjuna was to enter into the fire. The bridge was broken when Hanumanta jumped on it. Arjuna was about to enter into the fire as was agreed upon but Kṛṣṇa appeared on the scene and said that for want of witness there was no proof of the stipulation. The whole procedure was to be gone through again. Kṛṣṇa sided with Arjuna and Hanumanta was defeated. He, therefore, agreed to sit on the banner of Arjuna.

Arjuna¹ was crossing the Indranīla mountain. There Śaṁkara in wrath struck Arjuna with his trident. Arjuna fought with him and broke the trident with the tip of a blade of Darbha grass. Śaṁkara, very much pleased with the skill of Arjuna, presented him with Pāśupata Astra and the Kirīṭa from which he came to be known as Kirīṭin.

Arjuna² went to Amarāvati. Indra arranged that he should sleep at night in the Citraśālā. Attractively dressed and with amorous glances and gestures, Rambhā went to Arjuna with the desire of intercourse. Arjuna tried to shield himself with his vow of chastity. Rambhā was upset and cursed that Arjuna would be a eunuch for life but when she was pacified that duration was limited to one year only.

In the version of Viṣṇudāsa Kṛṣṇa³ himself tells Arjuna that Subhadra was offered to Duryodhana and Kṛṣṇa alone was against it. The name of the mountain is Govardhana and not Raivata and the Yādava family was going there for Indra-worship. Kṛṣṇa had previously informed Subhadra of his plan. When Yādavas proceeded for the Govardhana mountain Subhadra first went to the dwelling place of Kṛṣṇa after a while. Kṛṣṇa arrived there and then he took her to the chariot of Arjuna.

Kṛṣṇa nandana⁴-Surakṣyāti-pursued the ascetic Arjuna, who was carrying Subhadra. There was a great fight in which Arjuna was forced to release Mohinī Astra. All those that be-

¹ Adhyāya 62 - Not traceable.

² Adhyāya 62. This story occurs in the Indralokābhigamana parvan in the Vana parvan. In the original it is Urvaśī and not Rambhā and the curse is amended and condoned by Indra and not by the Apsarā.

³ Adhyāya 63.

⁴ Adhyāya 64.

longed to Balarāma's party fell unconscious on the ground. He brought only the charioteer to consciousness and told him that he was Arjuna carrying away Subhadra who was offered to Duryodhana. Akrūra went and reported this to Dharma and Duryodhana and invited the latter to fight against Arjuna.

Agni¹ went away after burning to ashes the entire Khāṇḍava vana. That night the Pāṇḍava family kept late hours gossiping with Kṛṣṇa, Subhadra was due for delivery and could not sleep because of the pains. She was also present there. Meanwhile she slept when Kṛṣṇa was speaking. But though she slept the phoetus in the womb kept on responding to Kṛṣṇa, who came to know of it after a while. Kṛṣṇa sent his wheel in the womb of Subhadra through her nose along with the inhaled breath and retaining only to cut off all his hands which numbered one thousand originally. That phoetus when born was named Abhimanyu and it was believed that his life which was in danger at the hands of Paraśurāma was saved by averting his being Sahasrārjuna.

These instances of episodical additions in the version of Visnudāsa make it clear that Visnudāsa had no particular Ms. before him while rendering the Mahābhārata into Marāṭhī. He has freely utilised some of the episodes from the Vana parvan even changing the original text completely. He has also added much from his own imagination. Ms. apart, he is not even faithful to story of Mahābhārata and hence Mukteśvara criticised him and probably referred to him by calling his performance as "प्राकृत कवीचा वाग्जल्प."

In MK we find an effort to elevate and adapt the material to suit his narration. MK as well as MD deal with the episodes freely but do not take freedom with them like Visnudāsa. MK is faithful to his Sanskrit text which is of the family of Ms. K4 of the Critical Edition and MD strictly adheres to his Sanskrit original that corresponds to D4. MK has omitted only one episode whereas Visnudāsa has omitted not less than six of them and MD has omitted only the reference to the birth of Duṣśalā. He has added nothing as he has omitted nothing and the changes that are seen in MK and MD are verbal in a great measure and real episodical changes and transformations are seen mainly in the version of Visnudāsa.

¹ Adhyāya 68.

CONCORDANCE OF ADHYAYAS IN MK., MD, and Cr. Ed.

<i>MK.</i>	<i>MD.</i>	<i>Cr. Ed.</i>	<i>MK.</i>	<i>MD.</i>	<i>Cr. Ed.</i>
1	1-8	1-2	26	47	105-108
2	9-10	3	27	48-50	109-115
3	11-12	4-12	28	51	116-119.12
4	13-14	13-17.151	29	52.1-39	119
5	15-16	17.152-26.34	30	52.40-53	120-123
6	17	26.35-30.	31	54	124-126
7	18-19	31-38.26	32	55	127-128
8	20	38.27-40.	33	56	129
9	21	41-44	34	57	App. I 81
10	21	45-47	35	58-59	130-134
11	23	48-51	36	59-60	135-138
12	22	52-53	37	60-62	139-144
13	24-25	54-57.74	38	62-63	145-152
14	26-27	57.75-61.	39	64-65.50	153-157
15	28-29.9	62-66	40	65.51-69	158-174
16	29	66-69	41	70-71.65	175-181.27
17	30-31	70-72	42	71.66-72.67	181.28-189
18	32	73-77 3	43	72.68-73.18	190-191
19	...	77.5-83.5	44	73	App. I 103
20	...	83.6-88.	45	...	192-199.25
21	38-	89-90	46	...	199.26-204
22	39-40.55	91-94.39	47	...	205-213.21
23	40.56-42.50	94.40-96	48	...	213.22-215
24	42.51-44.	97-100	49	...	216-219
25	45-47.43	101-104	50	...	219-225

¹ Taking into consideration all the additions, omissions and changes made by these three authors we find that the verses in the Cr. Ed. numbering 7190 have been rendered into 7113 Ovis by Mukteśvara, 6145 by Mādhava and 3906 by Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā for chapters 40-68 only, the first 39 chapters not being available in the Ms. used for this article.

ii) COMPARATIVE TABLE OF VERBAL & FACTUAL CHANGES IN THE THREE MARATHI VERSIONS

Note:— In the Ms. of *Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā* at my disposal the first 39 adhyāyas are missing.

* shows passages similar to those of the Critical Text.

<i>Critical text</i>	<i>Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā</i>	<i>Muktesvara</i>	<i>Mādhava</i>
1) 3. 119 सा आहे	(1) 2. 98 ^c पोष्य म्हणे	(1)	*
2) 3. 150-53	(2) 2. 126-132	(2)	*
3) 3. 165 ^b कि चिरं कृतमिति	(3) 2. 139 ^c - 140	(3)	*
4) 6. 9 ^a मृगु was angry	(4) 3. 19 ^a He was helpless	(4) 11. 46 ^b he was undisturbed.	
5) 6. 11 पुलीसा spoke	(5) 3. 21 अग्नि spoke	(5)	*
6) 8. 6 ^d - 7 ^a	(6) 3. 37	(6) 12. 6 ^b omit	
7) 16. 8 ^a	(7) 4. 75	(7) 14	"
8) 17. 28-29	(8) 4. 176-83	(8)	*
9) 20. 2 ^a Serpents stuck to the tail	(9) 5. 17-18	(9)	*
10) 23. 10-11 गरूड asks the serpents	(10) 5. 67 ^a विनता asks कूटू	(10) 15. 72 ^{cd} विनता and गरूड ask कूटू	
11) 25. 31 ^a रोहिण वट	(11) 5. 111 ^b रोहिणिय वट	(11) 16. 41 ^b अडुत वट	
12) 37. 17 दुःखाश्रुणि मृगुचे	(12) 7. 93 ^d उदक हस्ते सिंचिले	(12) 19. 32 ^c शृंगी बोले कोपायमान	
13) 57. 29 प्रत्यग्रह, कुशाब alias माणवाहन, मच्छिह्न, गदु.	(13) 13. 65 प्र. कु. म. and विमल	(13) 24. 52 महारथ मणिबाहु, मालबा ललितथ	
14) 57. 39 तदेतो वृक्षपत्रेण धूमिपः प्रति-जग्राह	(14) *	(14) 24. 63 ^{cd} रेतस्वलन झालें धूमीवरी	
15) 59. 10 षण्महर्षयः मानसाः पुत्राः	(15) 14. 21 मानसपुत्र दशसंख्या	(15)	*
16) 59. 12 अनायु, प्राबा, अरिष्टा	(16) 14. 25 दयायु, वरिष्टा, विमला प्राबा	(16) 27. 46 ^a दनयुकी only.	

Critical Text

Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā

- (17) 59.21^a चत्वारिंशत् 21^b विप्रचिन्ति
 (18) 59.43^b रतिगुणः
 (19) 60.30^a स्तनं
 (20) 60.32^b नन्द्यां
 (21) 60.55^b मासी
 (22) 60.66^b अनलायाः शुकी एव्री
 (23) 69.48^a गोवितत अश्वमेध
 (24) 71.10^b देवाः उबुः
 (25) 71.12^a Gods tell of दुषर्वा
 (26) 73.4^b वायुसूतःस (पुरंदरः)
 (27) 77.13^b शर्मिष्ठा
 requested for intercourse
 (28) 77.21-23 अयमर्तव्याहि माय
 (29) 90.21^a कालिङ्गी करण्डं
 (30) 90.39 विमला, चतुर्विंशं एवशतं
 (31) 90.95^b अश्वमेध दत्तः
 (32) 94.65^b भिष्म asked the
 ministers the cause of
 'शतनू's gloom
 (33) 96.57^b यक्ष्माणं
 (34) 107.11 सेदरं पातयामास

Muktesvara

- (17) 14.29^a पांचशत 30^a प्रचीत
 (18) 14.41^c रविवरा
 (19) 14.88^a हस्त
 (20) 14.90^c नदी
 (21) 14.100^c भेकी
 (22) 14.116^a अनला नामे शुकी एव्री
 (23) 16.241^a गोजित अश्वमेध
 (24) 17.28^a शचीचा वर
 (25) 17.42 शकुन gives a hint
 (26) 18.7^b विनोदार्थ पाटवी अनिल
 (27) 19.25 ययाति demands
 intercourse.
 (28) 19.29 शर्मिष्ठा had no opportunity to appeal.
 (29) 21.22^b रेणु कालिङ्गी
 (30) 21.37^b विशाला 37^c चतुर्विंशती
 (31) 21.84^b स्वदत्त
 (32) 23.39-41 भिष्म
 suggested for a यद्विणी
 (33) 23.164^a राजयक्ष्मा महारोगे
 (34) 26.65^{cd}-66 धृतराष्ट्र
 struck the stomach with
 stone.

Mūdhava

- (17) *
 (18) *
 (19) *
 (20) *
 (21) *
 (22) *
 (23) 29.32^b अनेक अश्वमेध
 (24) *
 (25) No reference to दुषर्प
 (26) garments are exchanged
 in haste
 (27) 33.11^c मज्जूआणुली करी अंगना
 (28) 33.36-39 no particular
 feeling is dominant.
 (29) 38.21^a करेणु 24^c कलिङ्गामजा
 (30) 38.29^a अजामीढाची भार्या भद्रावती :
 (31) 38.54 अश्वमेध
 (32) 40.66^b तेणे (भीष्म) जाणवला
 सर्व भावार्थ
 (33) 42.46^b क्षयरोग
 (34) 47-90. She struck the
 stomach with stone.

Critical text

Viṣṇudāsa Nāma

Muktesvara

Mūdhava

(35) 112.29^b ते शब्दं अन्नधीत्

(36) 123.11^a द्रोण refused to teach
एकलव्य

(37) 132.7^a रासभयुक्तेन संदनेन

(38) 143.1 भीम does not marry हिडिंबा
because she will not forget
भीम's enmity with demons.

(39) 143.34 घटभोसोत्कचइति.....

(39) 42.76^b तुझे उदर नावे
असे घटाकार नावे
देविजे घटोध्वज !

(40) 149.3 कुंती asures the Bra- (40) 45.17 भीम him- (40)
hman that one of her five

sons would go to the demon
Baka.

self proposes

that he should

go to Baka in-

stead of any

member of the

Brahman's fa-

mily.

(41) 153.3 Another Brahman (41) 46. The host of (41)

who halts at the place

where Pāṇḍavas stayed in

the Brahman

Ekacakrā told them of द्रौपदी-

ससंवर.

द्रौपदी-ससंवर.

(35) 27.111^b नाथ झोटिंग मुखीची वाणी ! (35) 49.82 शब्दनामं तपोधन । तेणं केलें
समाधान ! *

(36) 30.170 एकलव्यं refused to (36)
learn from द्रोण.

(37) 35.51^c दिव्यरथ

(37) 58.49 येसरे (खेचरे ?) रथास-

जोडावा !

(38) 60.72 भीम does not marry

because धर्म was not yet

married.

(39) 62.33^{ab} घटहास्थी मोकळे कच्च !

यास्तव बोलिजे घटोत्कच ।

(40)

*

(41) 70 As in Viṣṇudāsa.

Critical text

Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā

Muktesvara

Mādhava

(42) 155.35 The wife of दुषद does (42) *

, not come forth even when
called forth at the time of
the birth of Kṛṣṇā and

Dhr̥tadyumna.

(43) 172.1^b वसिष्ठ controlled (43) omit

पराशर in his demon sacrifice.

(44) 175.34 "yantracchidrenā-
bhyatikramya lakṣyam
samarpayadhvam khagama-
irdaśārdhailh."

(44) 46. The fish (44)
overhead was to
be shot with an
arrow looking to
its image in the
oil down below.

(45) 158.12^a गंधर्व's name is

(45) 47.52^c चित्रांगद

56^a चित्रसेन

(46) 205.26-28 On breaking the
rule when युधिष्ठिर was with
द्रौपदी, अर्जुन asked the
permission to go out for
12 years but युधिष्ठिर said
that अर्जुन has committed
no fault.

(46) 61.10^{b-d} अर्जुन

asked what he
should do on
breaking the
rule; all the
brothers told
him to go out
for 12 years
keeping chastity
(यमं is silent)
when asked यमं
permits him at
once.

(42) 39.45 She comes of her own (42) 65.37^{cd} As in Muktesvara,
accord and bows down be-
fore the Ṛsis with the desire
of a son.

(43) 40.152^{ab} पराशर refused to (43) *

stop his sacrifice.

(44) 70 As in Viṣṇudāsa.

(45) *

(46) *

Critical Text

Viṇudāsa Nāmā

(47) 208. The ascetics informed him of the जलचर in the five Tirthas, when अर्जुन was coming out of water the जलचर caught him. He threw it on the ground. She was a cursed अप्सरा by name वरुण. On her request अर्जुन touched four of her friends and restored them back to their celestial bodies.

(48) 214 अर्जुन and कृष्ण were together sporting in the river Jamnā when अग्नी approached them in the form of a Brahman.

(48) 66 अग्नी first (48) went to कृष्ण (at Gokula) who directed Agni to go to अर्जुन and then Kṛṣṇa went to वाराणास to see अर्जुन.

Mādhava

Muktesvara

(47) King चित्रवाहन informed अर्जुन of the crocodile. The name of वरुण is omitted. (47) 77.37 नर is the name of the Apsarā to whom अर्जुन restored her own celestial form first.

(48)

*

I am much obliged to Dr. R. G. Harshe for his help in the preparation of this article.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIMITS FOR THE COMMENTARY OF
INDU ON THE AṢṬĀṄGASAMĠRAHA OF VĀGBHATA I

(Between A. D. 750 and 1050)

BY

P. K. GODE

In the edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgasamġraha*¹ with the commentary of Indu called *Śaṣilekhā* published 31 years ago we are told that “*Śaṣilekhā* is a commentary of *Aṣṭāṅgasamġraha* by Indu one of the renowned and learned pupils of Vāhaṭa.”² Evidently this statement is based on the following verse³ quoted by the editor in his Sanskrit Introduction to the edition :—

“लंभश्चश्रुकलापमंजुजनिमच्छायायुतिं वैद्यका-
न्तेवासिन इन्दुज्जटमुखानध्यापयन्तं सदा ।
आगुल्फामलकश्रुकाञ्चितदरालक्ष्योपवीतोऽज्वलत्
कण्ठस्थागरुसारमञ्जितदृशं ध्यायेदृढं वाग्भटम् ॥”

The Editor in making his observation about the versatile intellect of the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgasamġraha* remarks :—

“द्वादशसाहस्यपरपर्यायः श्रीमद्दृष्टांगसंग्रहः, ततोऽपि सारतरोष्टांगहृदया-
ख्यग्रन्थः । रसशास्त्रसर्वस्वभूतो रसरत्नसमुच्चयश्च यदीयविषणाविलासे परं
साक्षिणः ॥”

¹ Ed. by T. Rudrapāraśava, Trichur, 1913. H. H. Sir Rama Varma, G. C, S. I., G. C. I. E. of Cochin in his letter of 20th July 1914 published as a foreword to this edition observes .—

“A copy of the commentary (*Śaṣilekhā*) could not be had in full anywhere. He (Editor) had to go to different places and hunt in several old manuscript libraries, and to collect lists from here and there. Several of such lists were worn out by old age and full of mistakes. It took several years for him to get a clear and complete copy and the labour and the trouble (with which) he had to compare and correct it were not ordinary. Even now it is doubtful whether the copy now prepared is quite free from errors. But I have no hesitation in saying that it is difficult to get a more correct copy of the book anywhere. But for the pains and troubles he has taken in publishing it this important work would have been completely lost.”

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. *Upodghāta*, p. IV —The editor calls this verse as “ध्यानश्लोक” and states that it is “लोकप्रसिद्ध.” He does not say anything about its authorship and chronology.

Evidently in making the above observation the Editor is attributing common authorship to the three works viz.

(1) the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhata I

(2) the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* of Vāgbhata II

and (3) *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of Vāgbhata who according to Sir P. C. Ray was a contemporary of Roger Bacon (died A. D. 1294)—Vide *History of Hindu Chemistry*, p. lvi of Vol. I (Calcutta, 1902).

I have already recorded elsewhere¹ the current views about the authorship² of the above three works, by three different authors of the same name Vāgbhata and hence need not deal with the question in this paper.

Our Editor on the basis of the common authorship of the three works further states:—

“श्रीमदष्टांगसंग्रहार्थस्तु कामपि समीचीनां दीपिकामन्तरा परिज्ञातुं दुःशक्त इति स्थिते अयमिन्द्रोः उदयः परमप्रमोद एव निखिलप्रपञ्चस्य ॥”

We agree that as the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhata I was difficult to be understood a commentator has come into being in the form of Indu, the author of the *Śaśilekhā* but it is difficult to make Indu a contemporary of Vāgbhata I as the Editor does in the following remarks on no solid evidence except the proverbial ध्यानश्लोक already quoted by him and reproduced above:—

“इन्दुः अयमाचार्यवाग्भटशिष्येषु प्रधानः तदुक्तम् ध्यानश्लोके । “इन्दु-ज्जलतुमुखानध्यापयन्त” मिति । अनेन अष्टांगसंग्रहस्य हृदयस्य च शाशिले-खेति व्याख्यातन्यत इन्दुनाज्ञापि सा व्यपदिश्यते ॥”

This is confusion worse confounded as the editor makes

¹ Vide p. 4 of my Introduction to the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*, edited by Vaidya Harishastri Paradkar of Akola (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938.)

² The identity of authorship for the *A. samgraha* and *A. hrdaya* has been taken for granted by many responsible writers on the history of Indian medicine. H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Gondal (pp. 34-35 of his *Aryan Medical Science*, London, 1896) States:—“In his work called “*Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*” he (Vāgbhata) acknowledges the assistance derived from the writings of Charaka, Sushruta, Agnivesha, Bhela and others who had gone before him. He also wrote another work called “*Aṣṭāṅga-Sangraha*” on which Pandit Arunadatta wrote a commentary.”

Vagbhata I, Indu and Jajjāṭa¹ contemporaries without any historical evidence and secondly he states that *Śaśilekhā* is a commentary on the अष्टांगसंग्रह as also on the (अष्टांग) हृदय² a statement which is clearly refuted by Indu's own statement at the beginning of his own commentary on the *Sūtrasthāna* that *Śaśilekhā* is a commentary on the *Saṃgraha* and not on the *Hṛdaya*.³

¹ Aufrecht makes the following entry about जैज्जट :—

CCI, p. 209—“ जैज्जट wrote a commentary on सुश्रुत. Quoted by Hemādri in *Āyurvedarasāyana* B. P. 373, in *Bhāvaprakāśa* Oxf. 311b, in *Ātaṅkadarpana* Oxf. 314b, by Candrāṭa Oxf. 357b, in *Toḍarānanda* W. p. 289 ”.

If Candrāṭa (about A. D. 1000 according to Hoernle) quotes जैज्जट, he is earlier than 1000 A. D. but I have no evidence to prove that इन्द्र and जैज्जट were contemporaries.

Vopadeva, contemporary of Hemādri quotes जैज्जट many times in his commentary प्रकाश on his father's सिद्धमन्त्र (see Ms of सिद्धमन्त्रप्रकाश in the Govt. Mus Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, folios 11, 12, 17 etc.). Vopadeva also quotes खारणादि, हस्तिचन्द्र (fol. 8) and वाष्पचन्द्र (fol. 8 and 34). खारणादि is quoted many times by Hemādri in *Āyurvedarasāyana*. Possibly खारणादि mentioned and quoted by हेमाद्रि and वोपदेव may be identical with खरनाद but this possibility needs to be examined separately.

² Vide p. 188 of *Aryan Medical Science*, London, 1896—

“ Some are of opinion that Vagbhata, the celebrated author of “ *Ashtanga-hridaya* ” flourished in the time of the Mahabharata and that he was the family physician of the Pandavas ”.

³ Vide verse 2 in the following 6 introductory verses of Indu's commentary in the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅga-saṃgraha* which I reproduce from the Edition of the work by Pandit R. D. Kinjavadekar (Chitrashala Press, Poona. 1938) :—

“ प्रोद्धासिस्वच्छशंसकुटशशिकलोद्गमवैद्यहय-
प्रोद्यन्तोदर्यवर्यप्रकटितवपुषं नौमि वागीश्वरीं ताम् ।
कल्लोलोद्धासशान्तिप्रतप्तिततरक्षिरसिम्बन्तराल-
श्लिष्यत्पीयूषरेखां स्मरयति विबुधान्वयायतो या दयालुः ॥ १ ॥
सरसि सुविपुलायुर्वेदरूपे कृतास्थं
मुनिवरर-नौषे दीर्घनाले निबद्धम् ।
रचितदलमिवाङ्गैः संग्रहाख्यं सरोजं
विकसति शशिलेखा व्याख्ययेन्दोर्यथावत् ॥ २ ॥
अनालोचिततन्त्रार्थः पदादावकृतश्रमः ।
यत्रावभाषते मूर्खस्तत्रावाच्या विपश्चितः ॥ ३ ॥

(continued on the next page)

This lotus in the form of *Samgraha* blooms at the sight of the moon's digit viz. the *Śaśilekhā vyākhyā* or commentary composed by Indu.

The date of Vāgbhaṭa I is "early seventh century" according to Dr. Hoernle¹ and as Indu commented on the *A. Samgraha*² of Vāgbhaṭa I, his date must be posterior to early seventh century. We may, therefore, safely fix about 625 A. D. as one terminus to the date of Indu. Let us now see if we can push forward this limit on the strength of evidence from Indu's commentary.

(continued from the previous page)

बन्धच्छायाविशेषज्ञः सूक्ष्ममध्यधिगच्छति ।

सुकवेरपि या वाचः कुण्ठास्ता जल[ड]पंसदि ॥ ४ ॥

क्रियद्वा कथाषिष्यामि यत्सतत्त्वेन बुध्यते ।

प्रमाणं च तदेवात्र यदस्माभिर्निरूप्यते ॥ ५ ॥

दुर्व्याख्याविषयसुप्तस्य बाहटस्यास्मदुक्तयः ।

सन्तु संवित्तादयिन्यः सदागमपरिष्कृताः ॥ ६ ॥ "

Pt. Kinjavdekar's edition of the *Aṣṭāṅga-samgraha* with Indu's commentary is based on the following printed editions and Mss:—

(1) *Text only*—Ms procured by me from Rajavaidya Jagatap of Kolhapur through the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

(2) *Text only*—Ms in the possession of Vaidya Gopalshastri Godbole of Bombay.

(3) *Text only*—Printed edition of Śaka 1810 = A. D. 1888 by Ganesh Sakharām Tarte of Nasik ad and Vaidya Krishnashastri Devadhar.

(4) *Text with Indu's commentary*—Edited at Trichur in 1913.

On 6th January 1939 I brought to the notice of Pt. Kinjavdekar a Ms of Indu's commentary in the Adyar Library described in their *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Part II (1928) p. 69 as follows:—

"अष्टांगहृदयव्याख्या (शशिलेखा) इन्दुकृता 39 B 19 दे 657 "

If this Ms turns out on examination to be Indu's commentary it should prove very useful to Pt. Kinjavdekar as he has failed to procure any Ms of this important commentary for his edition. The catalogue statement "अष्टांगहृदयव्याख्या" is again misleading because शशिलेखा is Indu's commentary on अष्टांगसंग्रह and not on अष्टांगहृदय. Indu describes बाहट as "दुर्व्याख्या-विषयुक्त" i. e. lying in a state of unconsciousness produced by the effects of the poison of bad commentaries. This statement leads us to suppose that there were some commentaries on the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* preceding the *Śaśilekhā* of Indu.

¹ *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907, Intro. p. 11.

² Aufrecht makes the following entries about Vāgbhaṭa I and his work:—CC I. 35—"अष्टांगसंग्रह med. quoted by Arunadatta."

(continued on the next page)

In chapter VI of the *Sūtrasthāna*, Indu makes the following comment:— ['गुणशब्दश्च भागपर्यायः' । 'संख्याया गुणस्य निमाने' इत्यादिना] (पा. सू. ५-२-४७) The Editor has identified the above quotation in the *Kāśikā*² commentary of the Sūtras of Pāṇini, which was composed about 650 A. D. This reference would push forward the limit of Indu's date to about 700 A. D. if the Editor's identification is correct.

Another quotation which if identified in the extant late lexicons would enable us to push forward the date of Indu is found in his comment on verse 17 of chapter II of the *Sūtrasthāna*. It reads as follows:—

["आमिषं भोग्यवस्तुनि" इति कोषः]

The *Medinī* lexicon assigned to about the 13th century¹ has a similar quotation which reads as follows:—

"आमिषं पुनपुंसकम् । भोग्यवस्तुनि संभोगे "

It is difficult, however, to say if this quotation has a direct relation with Indu's quotation because it has often been found that some of the late lexicons have drawn freely on the earlier lexicons and at times, we find two different lexicons borrowing from a common source.

A better criterion for pushing forward the date of Indu after 700 A. D. is the following quotation from the *Aṣṭāṅgaśāstra* of

(continued from the previous page)

CC III, 8— "अष्टांगसंग्रह med. by Vṛddha-Vāgbhaṭa RL 222-227

Do , 125 "बुद्ध वाग्भट med. BL. 2, 222-227" (BL=Bhandarkar's lists of private libraries in the Bombay Presidency, Part I, Bombay 1893). The *Des. Cat. of Madras Mss*, Vol. XXIII (Medicine) contains the following Mss:— No. 13070—*Āṣṭāṅgasamgraha* in Canarese characters on palm-leaf, pp. 122, contains 15 stanzas of the 4th *adhyāya*, some stanzas of the first *adhyāya* and from the 4th to the 37th *adhyāya* excepting *adhyāyas* 6 and 7. Breaks off in 38th *adhyāya* of the *sūtrasthāna*. No. 13071—*Aṣṭāṅga-Samgrahavyākhyā* in Canarese characters on palm-leaf pp. 158. Reference is herein made to Hariścandra's commentary on the *Caraka-Samhitā* :— "हरिश्चन्द्रकृता व्याख्या विनाचक्रसंमतम् यस्तृणोत्पत्त्यनप्रज्ञः वातुमीहति सोऽनुधिम् ॥ " "सोयं बाह्वतनामा शास्त्रकारश्च" तस्मादष्टांगसंग्रहे.....

"It is difficult to identify the portion contained in this work."

¹ Vide *Kalpadrakoṣa* Baroda, 1923, Introduction, p. xl "Padmanābha-datta who wrote his *Prasadarādivṛtti* in A. C. 1375 quotes *Medinī* in his *Bhūriprayoga* (CC 1, 467a)". "The *Manikhaṭikā* in Zacharie's edition contains also a quotation from *Medinī*, which if genuine would push back *Medinī*'s date to the 12th century for that commentary was most probably written before the last quarter of the 12th century".

Vāgbhaṭa II, who has been assigned to 8th or 9th century A. D. by Prof. Jolly (vide p. 16 of *Osteology*) :—

Sūtrasthāna comm. on verse 108 of chap. VII (p. 54 of Kinjavadekar's edition) —

“ उक्तं च हृदये—‘ परस्परपसंस्तम्भाधानुस्नेहपरंपरा ’ (शा. अ. ३-६५)

As Pandit Kinjavadekar has identified the above quotation in the *A. hrdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II we have no doubt that Indu was acquainted with the *A. hrdaya* and it is possible to find more references¹ to the *A. hrdaya* in his commentary. This reference, therefore, would justify us in concluding that Indu flourished after Vāgbhaṭa II say after about 900 A. D. and consequently

¹ In chapter I of *Nidānasthāna* (p. 5 of Kinjavadekar's Edition) we find the following reference :—

“ येन हृदये पठति—“ तदेव व्यक्ततां यातं रूपमित्यभिधीयते ” इति । एवं च ‘ स्थिते स पूर्वरूपाः कफपित्तमेहाः ’ इति यदा हृदयग्रन्थे व्याख्यायते तत्रैव चोदयिष्यामः ”

On p. 25 (chap. V. of *Sūtrasthāna*) Indu observes :—

“ क्रमश्च ‘ पादेनापथ्यमभ्यस्तम् ’ इत्यादिना वक्ष्यते ” The Editor points out that the line ‘ क्रमश्च.....अभ्यस्तम् ’ is only a part of the following whole stanza of the अष्टांगहृदय (*Sūtrasthāna*, VII, 48)—

“ पादेनापथ्यमभ्यस्तं पादपादेन वा त्यजेत् ।

निषेवेत हितं तद्वदेकद्विव्यन्तरीकृतम् ॥ ”

These references leave no doubt that Indu was conversant with the अष्टांगहृदयसंहिता of Vāgbhaṭa II and perhaps he wrote a commentary on it (“ यदा हृदयग्रन्थे व्याख्यायते तत्रैव चोदयिष्यामः ”). We shall have to investigate if any Mss of Indu's commentary on the हृदयग्रन्थ can be traced anywhere in India. The *Triennial Catalogue* of Madras Mss, Vol. IV, Part I, Sanskrit B describes a Ms of अष्टांगहृदयव्याख्या called शशिलेखा. It is No. R 3447 (p. 5142) and consists of folios 176 in Malayalam Characters. It was transcribed in 1920-21 from a Ms in the possession of Mr. M. N. Nambiar, Kaimur village, Trichur, Cochin Sate. The Ms begins in 141st stanza of the *Sūtrasthāna* and contains the *Sārīrasthāna* and the *Nidānasthāna* complete. Judging by the colophons the Ms appears to be Indu's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*. These colophons as recorded in the catalogue read as follows :—

“ इति इन्दुविरचितायामष्टांगहृदयव्याख्यायां शशिलेखायां त्रिशोऽध्यायः ॥ इति सूत्रस्थानं समाप्तम् ॥ ”

“ इति इन्दुविरचितायामष्टांगहृदयव्याख्यायां (शशिलेखायाम्) निदानस्थाने षोडशोऽध्यायः ”

it is absurd to make him a pupil of Vāgbhata I as the ध्यानश्लोक does according to the statement of the Editor of the Trichur Edition of Indu's commentary.

In dealing with the properties of the different vegetables (p. 61 of *Sūtrasthāna*) Indu observes:—

“अत्र शाकानां हस्तिकानां च येषां नामानि नोक्तानि तेषां देशभाषादिविच्योऽधिगम्यापभ्रंशसंस्कारादुपयोगविशेषाच्च ज्ञातव्यानि ”

In accordance with this statement we find him recording terms current in Kashmir for particular plants:—

p. 56—“ काश्मीरेषु महोयकः ”

p. 57—“ काश्मीरेषु केवुकमन्यत्र कनाविकम् ”

—“ काश्मीरेषु शिलः ”

—“ काश्मीरेषु लोनारा ’

—“ पर्यायाः निघण्टु¹ ज्ञानात् देशभाषासंस्करणाच्च किञ्चित् ज्ञायन्ते ”

p. 58—“ काश्मीरेषु कोणीकः ”

p. 60—“ काश्मीरेषु तुम्बुरुः ”

p. 63—“ काश्मीरेषु वृक्षबदरी ”

p. 66—“ अत्रापि फलानामप्रसिद्धानां च येषां नामानि नोक्तानि तानि मानादेशकुलेभ्योऽपभ्रंशसंस्कारादिनाधिगन्तव्यानि ”

As Indu has taken the trouble of noting the terms current in Kashmir for particular plants etc. I am inclined to believe that he either hailed from Kashmir² or was acquainted with a

¹ Vide Introduction, p. xlix of *Kalpavṛkṣa-Kośa*. Vol. I (Baroda, 1928). The oldest of medical and botanical glossaries or Nighaṇṭus is *Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu*, which according to Kṣīrasvāmin is earlier than Amara. Other nighaṇṭus are:— *Paryāyaratnamālā* or *Ratnamālā* of Mādhavakara, author of *Rugviniścaya*—8th or 9th cent. A. C. (Winternitz III, 550). *Paryāya-Muktāvalī* or *Muktāvalī* is based on the above work.—*Nighaṇṭuśeṣa* of Hemacandra *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, *Madanavinoda* (1374 A. D.), *Rājanighaṇṭu*, *Śivakośa* of Śivadatta (A. D. 1677), *Śabdacandrikā* of Cakrapāṇidatta, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-nighaṇṭu*, *Dravyamuktāvalī* and *Paryāyārṇava*.

² In the शारीरस्थान (chap. XIII, p. 87) under evil dreams reference is made to “द्रविडान्ब्रह्मचिण्डालयैः.” Indu explains:— “आन्ध्रद्रविडौ दक्षिणात्यजनपदनामनी ” i. e. the terms ‘आन्ध्र’ and ‘द्रविड’ are the names of Southern people or kingdoms. Can this explanation confirm our suggestion that Indu was a Northerner ?

³ [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

physician in Kashmir through whom he may have obtained the terminology recorded above.

Indu in chapter VIII (*Sārīrasthāna*, p. 61) gives the following definition of *gāmbhīrya* guṇa :—

“ यस्य प्रसादादाकारात् क्रोधशोकभयादयः ।

भावस्था नोपलक्ष्यन्ते तद् गाम्भीर्यमिति स्मृतम् ॥ ”

I have not been able to trace this definition in this form though the definitions of the *gāmbhīrya* guṇa are found in the *Nātyaśāstra*¹ of Bharata, the *Daśarūpaka*², the *Agnipurāṇa*³ and other works. Indu gives the definition of the word स्थूललक्ष⁴ as follows :— (p. 61)

“ योर्लप दातुं न शक्नोति स्थूललक्षः स उच्चते ”

These definitions show the critical nature of his commentary and justify to a certain extent the boastful statement of verse 6 in the beginning of the *Sūtrasthāna* viz. “ अस्मदुक्तयः सदागम-परिष्कृताः दुर्ह्यास्याविषमुनस्य बाहटस्य संविन्निदायिन्यः सन्तु ”

We have pointed out above that in commenting on the contents of the शाकवर्ग of the *Sūtrasthāna* (p. 57) Indu states that *pariyāyas* or synonyms of the names of different plants may be found in the *Nighaṇṭus* (पर्यायाः निघण्टुज्ञानात्... ज्ञायन्ते). This statement shows that he was conversant with some medical glossaries containing the names of the different plants and their synonyms. The question now arises whether Indu compiled any *Nighaṇṭu* himself. We shall try to record the following evidence for the consideration of scholars according to which it seems possible that Indu, the author of the *Saśilekhā* commentary on the *Astāṅga-*

¹ Benares Edn. by Batuknath Sharma, 1929, chapter 24, p. 272.

“ यस्य प्रभावादाकारा रोषहर्षभयादिषु ।

भावस्था नोपलक्ष्यन्ते गाम्भीर्यमिति शंसितम् ॥ ”

² Ed. by Haas, p. 47.

“ गाम्भीर्यं यत्प्रभावेन विकारो नोपलक्ष्यते । ”

³ Ed. in *Bib. Indica*, Calcutta, 1878, p. 230.

विशिष्टलक्षणोद्धेत्त लेख्यमुत्तानशब्दकम् ।

गाम्भीर्यं कथयन्त्यार्यास्तदेवान्येषु शब्दताम् ॥ ”

⁴ Mr. Apte in his Dictionary explains स्थूललक्ष as “ Munificent, liberal generous ; Wise, learned ; Inclined to recollect both benefits and injuries ; Taking careless aim ”.

saṅgraha and Indu, the author of a medical *Nighaṇṭu* frequently quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin¹ in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* may be identical :—

(1) Both the authors have the same name **Indu**.

(2) While **Indu** quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin is the author of a Medical *Nighaṇṭu*, our Indu is the author of the commentary on a medical work viz the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* and appears to be conversant with medical *Nighaṇṭus*, which he says contain the *pariyāyas* or synonyms of the names of plants.

(3) Indu quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin is evidently earlier than about 1050 A. D. as Kṣīrasvāmin is assigned to the 2nd half of the 11th century. Our Indu is also likely to be earlier than A. D. 1050 as we propose to indicate below.

In chapter II of *Nidānasthāna* (p. 9 of Kinjavadekar's edition Indu refers to *Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra* as follows :—

¹ Vide Introduction, p. 4 of *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana* (*Amarakośa*) with Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary ed. by K. G. Oka, Poona, 1913. Kṣīrasvāmin belongs to the 2nd half of the 11th century (*Between 1050 and 1100 A. D.*) as he quotes Bhoja and is quoted by Vardhamāna in the *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhī*. Medical authorities quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin are (1) *Suśruta* and *Sauśrutāḥ*, (2) *Vaidyāḥ* (chiefly *Caraka*), (3) *Dhanvantari* and his *Nighaṇṭu* (medical), (4) *Vāhaṭa* or *Vāgbhaṭa*, (5) *Candra*, (6) *Indu*, (7) *Candra-nandana*, (8) *Dhātuvīdya*, (9) *Nimih*, (10) *Haramekhalam*. *Indu* and *Candra-nandana* are very frequently quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin especially in his comments on the वनौषधिर्वर्ग *Indu* is quoted on pp. 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81 etc. (Pages 53 to 84 contain 170 verses of the वनौषधिर्वर्ग of the *Amarakośa*). The following quotations will show the nature and contents of Indu's *Nighaṇṭu* :—

P. 56 —“ आह्नेन्दुः—उदुम्बरस्तु यज्ञाङ्गः सुचक्षुः श्वेतवल्कलः ।

हेमदुग्धः रुमिकलः क्षीरवृक्षः स काञ्चनः ॥ ”

P. 57 —“ आह्नेन्दुः—तुङ्गः पुष्पकसंज्ञः स्यात् पुंनामा रक्तकेशरः ।

पुंनागः पुरुषाङ्गश्च केषां चित्पद्मकेशरः ॥ ”

P. 59 —“ इन्दुश्च—रौध्रः कषायरुद्धञ्जश्चिह्नको मधुपुष्पकः ।

व्रणौषधं कालहीनो हिमपुष्पोक्षिभेषजम् ॥

उत्सादनो घनत्वक्कृस्तरः शबरपादपः ।

रौध्रः शबरकः श्वेतत्वगती सारभेषजम् ॥

द्वितीयः पट्टिकारौध्रो वृहत्पत्रस्तिरीटकः ।

उत्तालक स्तिरत्वकश्च पट्टी लाक्षा प्रसादनः ॥ ”

“एतदेव हृदि कृत्वा भट्टारहरिचन्द्रेण वा शब्दस्य निर्दिष्टस्याप्राधान्यं लङ्घनस्याप्राधान्यं व्याख्यातम् तच्च भिषकशास्त्रनिष्णाता नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति” भट्टारकेण तु पूर्वरूपेषु सकलदोषसाधारणत्वाल्लङ्घनस्य प्राधान्यमुक्तम्”

(p. 95)—“भट्टारकेण तु ‘तथाविधैर्द्रव्यैः पूर्वमभिसंस्कारः शरीरस्य’ इत्यस्य वाक्यस्य” etc.

भट्टार हरिचन्द्र (or हरिश्चन्द्र) ¹ referred to in the above extract by Indu is the author of चरकसंहिताभाष्य. He is quoted by महेश्वर in his lexicon विश्वप्रकाश composed in A. D. 1111, by चन्द्रट (about 1000 A. D.) and by हेमाद्रि in his commentary on the अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhaṭa II. He is also quoted by अरुणदत्त in his commentary on the अष्टांगहृदय ² composed about 1220 A. D. ³. It appears therefore that भट्टार हरिचन्द्र is earlier than 1000 and hence Indu's reference to him does not conflict with our suggestion that Indu, the author of *Śaśilekhā* may be earlier than 1050 A. D. like his namesake, the author of a medical Nighaṇṭu ⁴ quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin about 1050 A. D.

The references to Bhattāraka Haricandra made by Indu show that he had not much respect for the views of Haricandra. This inference is warranted as Indu observes (p. 95—*Sūtrasthāna*) “भट्टारकेण.....द्वितीयोऽपि पक्षो य उद्भासितः सोऽस्माभिरोक्षित एव” and “भट्टारहरिचन्द्रेणव्याख्यातं.....भिषकशास्त्रनिष्णाता नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति.” This criticism of Haricandra by Indu is likely to lead one to suppose that Indu and Haricandra might have been contemporaries but we have at present no evidence either to prove or disprove this suggestion.

In the Madras Mss Library Ms No. 13071 is a commentary on the *Astāṅgasamgraha* but the description of this Ms given in the catalogue ⁵ this commentary has not been identified. Judging by the verse ⁶ which appears in the extract from this

¹ *Catalogus Cata.* of Aufrecht, I, 756b.

² Do, I, 761.

³ Hoernle: *Osteology*. Oxford, 1907, p. 17, 100.

⁴ *Vide Catalogue of Nepal Mss* by Haraprasad Shastri and Bendall, Calcutta, 1905, Preface p. xxiii — A Ms of *Sūrottara Nighaṇṭu*, a work on synonyms in medical science, bears the date of copy viz. N.S. 200 = A.D. 1080

⁵ *Madras Mss Voi.* xxiii.

⁶ — “हरिश्चन्द्रकृतां व्याख्यां विना चरकसंमतम् ।
यस्तृणोत्पत्तयः बालुमीहति सोऽन्धुधिम् ॥”

commentary given in the catalogue and which contains a contemptuous criticism of Haricandra¹ (vide Indu's criticism of Haricandra noted above) it appears that, this unidentified commentary may be Indu's *Śaśilekhā* itself. As, however, the Madras Ms is not before me I am unable to say anything definitely about this identity for the question needs to be settled by a comparison of the Madras Ms with the published text of the *Śaśilekhā* commentary.

In the following passage Indu appears to refer to his Guru (" अस्मद्गुरवः ") :—

Page 95 (*Sūtrasthāna* Chap. IX)—

“एतच्चास्मद्गुरवो यथा प्रक्रान्तशब्दार्थपरतन्त्रास्तैरेवेति च तद्विरुद्धानि परामृशन्तौ वमनादिवत् पूर्वं देहस्याभिसंस्कृतेरपि वैयाविधेयतामभिमन्यमानाश्चरकस्य बोद्धारो व्याख्यानमभिमन्यन्ते । भट्टारकेण तु ‘तथाविधैर्वा द्रव्यैः पूर्वमभिसंस्कारः शरीरस्य’ इत्यस्य वाक्यस्य व्याध्युत्पत्त्यनैकान्तिकप्रदर्शनपरत्वमङ्गीकृत्य तथाविधैरिति च विरुद्धसमानि परामृश्य विरुद्धैरेव पूर्वसंस्कारो व्याध्यनुत्पत्तिहेतुरिति सात्म्याहारप्रायतया द्वितीयोऽपि पक्षो य उद्भासितः सोऽस्माभिरुपेक्षित एव ”

The expression “अस्मद्गुरवः” contains possibly a reference to Vagbhata II, the author of the *Astāṅgahṛdaya* but we must await more decisive evidence on this possibility²

¹ There is a Ms No. 13092 of *Caraka Samhitāvyaṅkhyā* by Haricandra in the Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, Madras, (Vide Catalogue Vol. XXIII, 1918, p. 8801) It consists of 151 pages and contains the 3rd *adhyāya* of the *Sūtrasthāna*. It begins:—

“स्वयम्भुवे प्राणभृदन्तरात्मने जगत्प्रदीपाय महद्वितैषिणे ।

विवस्वते दीप्तसहस्ररश्मये सरोत्तमायामिततेजसे नमः ॥ ”

Colophon of Chap. I—

“इति आचार्यहरिश्चन्द्रकृतौ प (प्र)शिष्योपाध्यायकीयन्यासे भेषजचतुष्टके दीर्घजीवितयः प्रथमोऽध्यायः ”

² Pt. Kinjavdekar has drawn my attention to the following passage in Indu's comment on *Sūtrasthāna*, chapter III, (p. 24a) of his Edition:—

“तथा च आचार्य एव हृदये केवलं महत्याः प्रतिषेधं करोति ।

यतः साहोरात्रेण जीर्यते । न तु मात्रान्तरस्य विधानम् ।

‘सूतिका क्षुद्धती तैलाद् घृताद्वा महतीं पिबेत्’

इति स्नेहे काये वा पिते यमकाभ्यक्त देहाया वक्षणेोदरं वेष्टयेत् ”

(continued on the next page)

References to Indu by subsequent medical writers¹ have not yet been recorded and consequently it is difficult to fix the lower limit for Indu's date in a definite manner. That Indu flourished after Vāgbhaṭa II (8th or 9th century) is amply

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This passage connects आचार्य and अष्टांगहृदय because the line "सूतिका क्षुद्रती.....पिबेत्" quoted by Indu is found in the following verse of the अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhaṭa II (शारीरस्थान, chapter I) (p. 100 of Kinjavdekar's Edition, where the text of शारीरस्थान of the अ. हृदय is reproduced for reference):—

"सूतिका क्षुद्रती तैलाद्वृताद्वा महतीं पिबेत् !

पञ्चकोलकिनीं मात्रां मनु चोष्णं गुडोदकम् ॥ ९४ ॥"

This identification appears to indicate that Indu claimed Vāgbhaṭa II, the author of अष्टांगहृदय, as his "आचार्य" and hence by the expression "अस्मद्-गुरुवः" mentioned above he refers to Vāgbhaṭa II and none else.

If our interpretation of the above passages is correct Indu becomes a direct pupil of Vāgbhaṭa II and hence a junior contemporary of his आचार्य or "गुरुवः" as he respectfully refers to him.

In addition to the references made by Indu to Vāgbhaṭa II in the words आचार्य and गुरुवः the following reference to बाहटग्रन्थ appears to refer to अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhaṭa II and not अ. संग्रह of Vāgbhaṭa I:— (P. 1023 of *Sūtra-sāhāna*, chap. IX).

Vāgbhaṭa I— *A. Saṃgraha*—

"बृहद्द्वसन्ते तस्यान्ते पक्षात्तद्वदनोदये ।

सेवेत कामतः कामं हेमन्ते शिशिरे बली ॥ ९७ ॥"

Indu's comment :— "वसन्ते बृहद्द्वसन्ते पक्षात्तद्वदनोदये । तस्य वसन्तस्यान्ते ग्रीष्मे पश्चात्तद्वदनोदये वर्षासु हेमन्ते शिशिरे च, बली बलवान्, कामतो यथेच्छं, सेवेत । शरदि त्वनुक्तवपि वसन्तसदृशवलादि मत्वाद्बृहद्देव नारीं व्रजेत् । तथा च श्रीबाहटग्रन्थ एव 'बृहद्द्वसन्त-शरदोः इति'"

Vāgbhaṭa I has omitted शरद् or autumn in his list of seasons mentioned in verse 97 quoted above. Indu suggests that the omission is not intentional and quotes in his support the line "बृहद्द्वसन्तशरदोः" from बाहटग्रन्थ which appears to be identical with हृदयग्रन्थ or अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhaṭa II who has included the शरद् in his list of seasons congenial for sexual intercourse. By बाहट in the above comment Indu definitely means Vāgbhaṭa II and not Vāgbhaṭa I. The two बाहट are here distinguished as one is quoted in support of another.

¹ One इन्द्रु is quoted in the कैरलीव्याख्या on the अष्टांगहृदय in the following

"अलजी अलजीसंज्ञः क्षुद्ररोगः । वृत्तादिकच्छपोन्नतान्तं कच्छपी विशेषणम् इति इन्द्रुः"

(continued on the next page)

proved by his references to हृदयग्रंथ in the *Saśilekhā*. If, however, his identity with Indu, the author of the medical Nighantu quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin (1050 A. D.) as suggested tentatively by me¹ in the present paper is proved conclusively we may be able to assign him to a period say between A. D. 750 and 1050 A. D.

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Vide p. 403 of the Edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* with the *Kairalivyākhyā* which is being published in the journal *Vaidya Sarathi* (Kottayani, South India) August 1938, III, 5. This commentary quotes (p. 402) from वैजयन्ती lexicon (middle of 11th century) “ क्षुद्रः स्वल्पेऽधमे क्रूरे ” इति वैजयन्ती । and from भोज (p. 403) कर्णयोरुपरिष्ठाच्च कर्णयोश्च समन्ततः । पिटकां कुरुते राजन् शालूकसदृशां स्थिराम् । and hence is later than about 1100 A. D. This commentary also quotes from श्रेष्ठदत्त (p. 402 — “ आयुर्वेदस्य तस्याष्टौ प्रादुरङ्गानि तद्विदुः । सर्वेभ्यः प्रायशस्तेभ्यः क्षुद्रगेगाः समुच्छिताः ” इति श्रेष्ठदत्तस्येति) from जातूकर्ण (p. 405), धन्वन्तरि (p. 407), सुश्रुत, सौश्रुत (p. 407), मञ्जरी (p. 413, 401) केशव (p. 416).

¹ I am happy to find that my friend Mr. Nalinath Das Gupta (*Indian Culture* Vol. III, p. 434) has already suggested this identity :— “ An author of a medical Nighantu or glossary, Indu by name is quoted not few times by Kṣīrasvāmi attributed to the 2nd half of the 11th century in his reputed commentary on the *Amarakośa*. The *Nighantu* appears to have been lost but the name Indu is found to have been borne by a commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II. A Ms of Indu's commentary entitled *Saśilekhā* and perhaps the only one preserved is in the Madras Government Collection (*Triennial Catalogue*, Madras, Vol. IV, Part I, Sanskrit B p. 5142) That both the books are medical and that Indu is not a common place-name amongst the Vaidyaka writers of ancient and early mediaeval India tend to suggest that Indu, the author of the *Nighantu* is the same with the Commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*. But Indu is after all, a familiar name to us as being that of the father of *Mādhavakara*, the celebrated author of the *Nidāna-saṃgraha* and it may not improbably be that the writer of the above two works was but Indu, the father of *Mādhava-Kara* ”. As Mr. Das Gupta assigns *Mādhava-Kara* to the “ *Seventh Century* ” his father Indu, (as suggested by Mr. Das Gupta above) will have to be assigned to the 7th Century. As against 8th or 9th Century for Vāgbhaṭa II suggested by Dr. Hoernle Mr. Das Gupta suggests 7th Century at the latest for Vāgbhaṭa II [Vide Vol. III (1929) p. 795 of *History of Indian Medicine* by Girindranath Mukharjee]. This line of argument will make Indu, his son *Mādhava-Kara* and *Vāgbhaṭa II* as contemporary writers of the 7th Century. Further as Indu criticizes *Bhaṭṭāraka Haricandra* in his *Saśilekhā* Haricandra also may be a contemporary of Indu or some-what earlier than Indu. All these are, however, probabilities, which need to be verified by specialists in the field.

Prof. Keith¹ regards the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya Sāṃhitā* of Vāgbhaṭa II as probably the work of a Buddhist. We have suggested earlier in this paper that Indu was most probably the disciple of Vāgbhaṭa II as he refers to him as “आचार्य” and “गुरुः.” If this position is accepted it is easy to understand the following passage in Indu’s commentary :—

Vāgbhaṭa I in the *Sūtrasthāna* (chap. IV, p. 20) gives the following salutary advice :—

“सत्त्वाद्यवस्था विविधाश्च तास्ताः
सम्यक् समीक्ष्यात्महितं विदध्यात् ।
अन्योऽपि यः कश्चिदिहास्ति मार्गः
हितोपदेशेषु भजेत तं च ॥”

Indu explains the above verse as follows :—

“सत्त्वरजस्तमसां नानाविधानवस्थाविशेषान् परीक्ष्यात्महितं करणीयम् ।
दुस्तरा हि धर्मप्रतिबन्धका रजस्तमोविकाराः । तथा मनुबुद्धादिप्रणीतेषु
हितोपदेशशास्त्रेषु यो मार्गोऽस्ति तमपि सेवेत”

It will be seen from the above text and its explanation by Indu that though in the text there is no suggestion of Buddhist philosophy or religion Indu specifies the text reference to अन्य मार्ग by explaining it to refer to मनुप्रणीतशास्त्र or बुद्धप्रणीतशास्त्र. This specification can be properly explained if we regard Indu as the pupil of a Buddhist, though himself embracing the Hindu faith. This tolerance to Buddhism engendered by his reverence towards a Buddhist guru looks quite natural. Vāgbhaṭa I, however, includes धर्मशास्त्राणि among 108 auspicious things² which have nothing to do with Buddhist religion.

¹ Vide p. 510 of *Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928.

² Vide p. 84 of *Sūtrasthāna*, Chap. XII— “ज्योतिषं, धर्मशास्त्राणि तीर्थानि, काव्यं, धर्मार्थकाममृतं बलस्त्रिन्यादयः वेदवाक्यं....ॐकारं पुण्याद्वधर्मक्रियाश्चैतदष्टोत्तरं मङ्गलानां शतं दर्शनात्, स्पष्टेनात् कर्तव्याश्चाशुभानि व्यपोहार्यसिद्धिं दिशन्त्युत्तमां”

JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW
5. LEGAL PROTECTION OF PLANTS IN ANCIENT INDIA
BY

Dr. LUDWIK STERNBACH (Poland)

1. The Ancient Indian sources of law show that the Ancient Indians believed that plants (trees) lived their own lives. They enjoyed life, felt pains and grew, although some of their parts were cut off.¹

Trees were highly esteemed and whoever planted trees offered pious gifts. So according to Vis. "He who plants trees will have those trees for his sons in a future existence. Even a giver of trees gladdens the gods by offering up their blossoms to them. He also gladdens his guests by giving their fruits to them, and the travellers with their shade and the manes with the water trickling down from their leaves when it rains."²

2. A Snātaka Brāhmana should keep the right side towards well known and large trees.³ Women who desire to have a son should worship trees⁴ 5.

We find in the Dharmaśāstras rules whose aim is to protect plants. However, it is doubtful whether the respective rules are equivalent to the legal protection of nature reserves we find in contemporary legislations.

3. The rules contained in the Dharmaśāstras should be divided into three groups:

- a. Protection of plants from the point of view of religion,
- b. Protection of plants which are considered *objecta sacra*,
- c. Protection of plants as private property.

4. *ad a.* It should be admitted that the protection of plants from the point of view of religion is based on the rules of ahimsā. The belief in the life and sufferings of the plants seems to confirm this statement.

¹ See P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Part II, p. 895/6, see Marco Polo B. III, ch. 30.

² Vi. XCI 4-8. See Mbh. Anuśāsana-parva 23-32; Padmapurāṇa.

³ Mn. IV, 39, Y-I-133, Vi. LXIII, 28, Mārkaṇḍeya in Aparārka p. 176.

⁴ Kādambarī 56.

⁵ See P. V. Kane's, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Part II, p. 893-896

This protection of the plants is based on the beautiful rule which is to be found in Vās.

स्वधर्मो राज्ञः पालनं भूतानां तस्यानुष्ठानात्सिद्धिः

Under "all beings" we¹ shall also understand plants. According to Vās.² not even the king should be allowed to injure trees that bear fruit and flowers.

This rule is to be found in a developed form in Mn. and Y.; Viś. even repeats the respective ślokas from Mn.

फलदानां तु वृक्षाणां छेदने जप्यमृक्षतम् ।

गुल्मवल्लीलतानां च पुष्पितानां च वीरुधाम्^{3,4}

"For cutting trees yielding fruit, shrubs, creeping or climbing plants or plants yielding blossoms he must mutter a Vedic text a hundred times."

Y.⁵ solves this question in the same manner and also uses the words वृक्ष, गुल्म, लता, वीरुध, छेदने, जप्य, ऋक्, and शत.

The commentators on Vi. and Y. say that the trees must be useful because bread fruit and mango fruit⁶ are "fruit bearing trees"⁷ and jasmins⁸ are plants yielding blossoms. The prayers ऋक् are Gāyatrī.⁹ This meditative repetition of the ऋक् one hundred times does refer to the case of Dvijas and not to the case of Śūdras and the like; for they have no right to the meditative repetition of the Mantras. They have to fast for two days and nights. Their penance will be prescribed in proportion to their penalty.¹⁰

Mn.^{11, 12} says : कृष्टजानामोषधीनां जातानां च स्वयं वने ।

वृथा लम्बेऽनुगच्छेद्वा दिनमेकं पयोव्रतः ॥

"If a man has wantonly cut plants, whether sown in ploughed fields or growing spontaneously in the forest, he must wait on a cow and subsist upon milk for one day."

The commentators understand under "plants which were sown in ploughed fields"—rice and barley and under "growing spontaneously in the forest"—wild rice, or better to say all the useful plants which grow wild.

¹ Vās. XIX-I. ² Chapt. XIX. ³ Mn. XI-142.

⁴ Vi. L-48 is identical with Mn. XI-42. ⁵ Y. III-276. ⁶ Mit. 640.

⁷ Mit. 640. ⁸ Vi. ⁹ Mit. ¹⁰ Mit. 643. ¹¹ Mn. XI-144.

¹² Repeated in Vi. L-50.

Y. does not distinguish between cultivated plants and plants growing wild. Mit. takes an example from Mn. and Vi. and adds that it is immaterial whether the plants were growing in a village or in the forests.

According to Y. the same penance is prescribed. Mit. explains that he who has cut down plants shall for one day, that is, during the entire course of the day, follow cows for the purpose of rendering them service, and drink milk at the end without having recourse to any other kind of food.

Mn.¹ adds that it is immaterial whether these acts were caused willingly or unwillingly. This point of view of the Dharmaśāstras is comprehensible because it only concerns the consequence, the religious penance, and not the legal consequences of the act.

Seemingly this rule is contradictory to the rule contained in Mn. XI-144 (second part) and Vi. L-50, because the word *व्यालम्भे*-wantonly, intentionally, was used; therefore, only he who intentionally cuts plants is liable to penance; but the commentators explain clearly that the word *व्यालम्भे* means for purposes other than those of religious sacrifice or divine worship. Y.² states it clearly saying: "for cutting down plants *unless* for sacred purposes one shall for one day follow cows and subsist on milk." Mit.³ explains this rule and says that "if the cutting is for the purpose of *Pañcayajña* there is no violation of the rule." It results also *per analogiam* from the rules concerning the killing of animals for religious purposes.⁴ It is also found in Vi.⁵ and Vās.⁶; Vās. adds also "for cultivation purposes." Hence for higher purposes trees can be injured.

The principle that the cutting of trees is not permissible is based on the religious maxim that cutting down a tree (द्रुम) for the purpose of getting firewood, or injuring plants, cutting trees (द्रुम), shrubs (गुल्म), creepers (बल्ली), long climbing plants (लता) or herbs is a minor sin (उपपातक).⁷

5. *ad b.* The trees as *objecta sacra* are in particular protected. The penalty is then doubled. This case is to be found only in

¹ Mn. XI-146. ² Y-III-276. ³ Mit. 640. ⁴ See second part,

⁵ Vi. LI-63. ⁶ Vās. XIX-12.

⁷ Mn. XI-64, 65, Y-III-24, Vi. XXXVII-24,

Y. and K.¹ As such trees were considered trees growing on special places such as a sacrificial place, a cemetery, a boundary, a sacred place or a temple, or well known trees,² which meant probably trees which were particularly revered. According to Mit.³ as such trees were considered the *पिप्पल* i. e. the holy fig tree (*ficus religiosa*).—"the lord of trees",⁴ as well as *पलाश* also called *किंजुक* (*butea frondosa*) used for marking boundaries.⁵ As was said before, the penalty in this case is twofold. It is twice as great as the penalty for hurting a tree which belongs to a private person (private property).

GA. ad c. From the legal point of view the matter of injuring trees which are private property is very well solved in the Dharmaśāstras and shows an exceedingly high level of understanding of legal problems by the authors of the Dharmaśāstras.

The main principle of this question is that he who injured the tree which was private property should pay in accordance to the damage done.⁶ He should not only pay for the damage done (*damnum emergens*) but also for the loss of his profit (*lucrum cessans*).

The principle is as follows :

वनस्पतीनां सर्वेषामुपभोगं यथायथा ।

तथातथा दमः कार्यो हिंसायामिति धारणा ॥⁷

The rule is that a fine must be paid for injuring all (kinds of) trees in proportion to their usefulness.

This rule is found in Mn.⁷ and is repeated word for word in Kāty.⁸ Mn. uses the words "all trees" which means "all kinds of trees" which are, for instance, enumerated in Y. and Vi. "In proportion to their usefulness" means in accordance to their products⁹ and position.¹⁰ This rule too is repeated in Vi. and Y., but these Dharmaśāstras develop this principle. And so Vi. speaks firstly about *फलोपगमद्रुम* (trees yielding fruit)¹¹ as of the most valuable trees and imposes the highest penalty; then speaks about *पुष्पोपगमद्रुम* (trees yielding flowers)¹² as less valuable,

¹ Y-II-228, K 197, 11-12 (§ 73).

² According to K. (197, 11-12) also trees which are grown in king's forest.

³ Mit. ad Y-II-228. ⁴ *पितामह* in Mit. ad Y-II-103. ⁵ Mn. III-246.

⁶ Amount of damage done. ⁷ Mn. VIII-235. ⁸ Kāty. 793.

⁹ Kulluka. ¹⁰ Medhātithi. ¹¹ Vi. V-55. ¹² Vi. V-56.

and imposes the second penalty, afterwards speaks about बल्लीगुल्म and लता¹ as much less valuable and imposes the penalty of 100 *karṣāpaṇas*, and lastly speaks about the less valuable plants, *i. e.* grass (तृण)²; in case of injuring it the penalty of 20 *karṣāpaṇas* is imposed.

This rule is also accepted in Y.³ Vi., as well as Y. enumerate the plants. The text of the rules varies although the principle is the same; it is that the higher the penalty the more valuable is the plant.

Y. speaks about प्ररोहिशाखिनः (trees which throw down branches having sprouts.)⁴ *i. e.* those branches which when cut off develop again at each knot of trees (प्ररोह), such as the banyan and the like.⁵ शाखा (branch), स्कन्ध (trunk) *i. e.* that from which the original branches shoot out⁶ and उपजीव्यद्रुम *i. e.* trees which are means of livelihood, as for instance the mango tree.⁷

We should distinguish in this enumeration the degrees in injuring trees *i. e.* injuring of whole trees—प्ररोहशाखिन and उपजीव्यद्रुम on one side, and their parts शाखा, and स्कन्ध on the other. Y.-II-227 completely confuses these two different notions. Here too the author or authors of the Yājñavalkya-Dharmasāstra determine that the fundamental penalty amounts to 20 *paṇas* but probably according to the value it can be doubled (विंशतेर्द्विगुणो दमः). Mit.⁸ explains this rule in the following manner: "the three (?) fine penalties *viz.* twenty *paṇas*, forty *paṇas* and eighty *paṇas* are inflicted respectively for the offences of cutting of the branches and for the offences following in the order."

This sentence,⁹ however, probably does not mention three but four penalties provided that it is admitted that प्ररोहिशाखिन, शाखा, स्कन्ध define only the word उपजीव्यद्रुम; the word च, however, does not allow such an interpretation.

If we admit that this sentence enumerates four kinds of trees we cannot accept the point of view of Mit. that the fine should be inflicted according to the list of their enumeration, because we must apply the rule that the penalty depends on the useful-

¹ Vi. V-57. ² Vi. V-58. ³ Y-II-227. ⁴ Stanzler's Translation:

"Bäume deren Zweige wieder wachsen" ⁵ Mit. ad Y-II-227.

⁶ Mit. ad Y-II-227. ⁷ Mit. ad Y-II-227. ⁸ Mit. ad Y-II-227.

⁹ Y-II-227,

ness of these plants. In this case we should admit that for the cutting off of branches the penalty of 20 *panas* is to be imposed; for the complete destruction of the trunk -- 40 *panas*; of the trees which throw down branches having roots -- 80 *panas*; of the trees which are the means of livelihood -- 160 *panas*.

However, according to Y.¹ for the cutting or destruction of less valuable plants, the fine is half of that mentioned above; it is 10 *panas*. To these less valuable plants belong: गुल्म such as मालती plant², and the like *i. e.* creepers which do not develop into any considerable length³, गुच्छ which do not have the form of creepers and are not generally smooth and straight *i. e.* the कुरण्डक plant⁴, a species of amaranth⁵, क्षुप *i. e.* the करवीर plant⁶, a kind of tree with white, red or yellow flowers and the like which are generally straight and smooth⁷, लता *i. e.* the अतिमुक्त⁸ a creeper which develops into considerable length⁹, प्रताना *i. e.* creepers without knots or offshoots and growing straight such as सारिवा and others¹⁰, ओषधय *i. e.* plants which develop fruit such as the paddy plant etc.¹¹ and विरुध *i. e.* the गडूची¹² a plant generally growing on trees, used for medicines, a kind of plant which even when cut grows and develops in various parts.¹³

Very similar rules are to be found in K.¹⁴ K. also distinguishes between more and less valuable plants and imposes fines according to the damage done to the plants.

पुरोपवनस्पतीनां पुष्पफलच्छायावतां प्ररोहच्छेदने षट्पणः। क्षुद्रशाखाच्छेदने द्वादशपणः। पीनशाखाच्छेदने चतुर्विंशतिपणः। स्कन्धवधे पूर्वस्ताहसदण्डः। समुच्छिन्नौ मध्यमः। पुष्पफलच्छायावाद्गुल्मलतास्वर्धदण्डः।¹⁵

So we see that for cutting sprouts of fruit trees, flower trees or shady trees in the parks near the city the fine amounts to 6 *panas*, for greater damage *i. e.* for cutting off of big branches the fine amounts to 24 *panas*, for even greater damage *i. e.* the cutting off of trunks, the perpetrator is punished with the first amercement, which amounts from 12 to 96 *panas*; ¹⁶ and in case of the greatest damage *i. e.* the felling of the respective trees, the perpetrator is

¹ Y. II-229. ² *Echites carryophyllata*, kind of jasmine.

³ Mit. ad Y. II-229.

⁴ *Ammania Vesicatoria*.

⁵ Mit. ad Y. II-229.

⁶ *Nerium odorium*.

⁷ Mit. ad Y. II-229.

⁸ a grape *dulbergia*

⁹ *oujeinensis*.

¹⁰ Mit. ad Y. II-229.

¹¹ Mit. ad Y. II-229.

¹² Mit. ad Y. II-229.

¹³ *cocculus cordifolius*.

¹⁴ Mit. ad Y. II-229.

¹⁵ K. 197, 6-10 (§. 23)

¹⁶ K. 197, 6-9 (§. 23).

¹⁷ K. 192 (§. 69).

punished with the middlemost amercement, which amounts from 200 to 500 *panas*.¹

On the other hand, in case of injuring of less useful plants (गुल्म, लता) which bear flowers, fruits, or provide shade, half of the above fines shall be levied.

According to K. it makes no difference where these trees have grown.²

These are the rules referring to the restitution i. e. repayment of the damage really done, which—as mentioned above—depends on the real value (*praetium affectionis* is not taken in account) of the destroyed or damaged plants which is the property of the wronged person.

B. Vi. knows also the rule of the loss of profit (*lucrum cessans*). We read there³ सर्वे च तत्त्वामिनां तदुत्पत्तिम्.

And all such offenders (shall make good) to the owners (of the trees or plants cut off or destroyed by them) the revenue which they yield i. e. the profit which they earned from the trees or plants being their property. In what way, however, this "profit" should be calculated is not stated in this source of law. Therefore, the general legal rules should be applied to this case.

7. The Dharmaśāstras also contain rules relating to the prohibition of eating some plants which are considered unclean. To these plants belong red and white garlic, onions, leeks, mushrooms, red gums from trees, exudations from trees, frumenty rice milk, fresh beanes, turnips, brinjals, gourds, *kucunḍa*, *kumbhāṇḍa*, tree-roots and others, the modern equivalents of which are difficult to find.⁴

It is evident that these rules have purely religious meaning.

8. The rules which were reckoned among the groups I and II contain rules whose aim was the protection of plants (trees), but are not equal to the rules concerning the protection of nature reserves from the point of view of civil law. The rules reckoned among the first group i. e. the protection of plants from the point of view of religion, do not have any legal sanction. The same considers the rules belonging to the second group.

¹ *Ibid.*

² K. 197, 10-11 (§ 73).

³ Vi. V-59.

⁴ Mn. IV-5-11, Y. I-171, Āp. I-17, 19, 26-28, G. XVII-32, Vās. XIV-33, Vi. LI-3, 34, 36, B. (Aparārka 247) and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Brahma-purāṇa, Taittiriya-Śruti, Yama, Hārīta and Devaīa (all in Vira Āhnikā p. 511-513) etc.

The aim of the rules reckoned among the third group is not the protection of nature reserves, but the protection of these plants; therefore, this group cannot be interpreted from the point of view of legal protection of plants.

As to the rules reckoned among the first and second group, although from the point of view of the modern system of civil law, they are *leges imperfectas*, they cannot be treated in a completely negative manner. The ancient Indian civil law is to such a great extent mixed with religious rules, that religious sanctions can be considered as legal sanctions.

On the other hand, however, it must be pointed out that the protection of animals is much better solved in the Dharmaśāstras and, in particular, in the Kauṭiliya's Arthaśāstra. We find there special rules which concern, for instance, the prohibition of killing or torturing animals¹, protection in their old age and in case of disease², and even some kinds of national parks are mentioned there³, as well as prohibition of catching, killing or injuring deer⁴. Although it is doubtful whether the aim of this protection of animals was not merely the protection of private property, in particular the king's property, because even national parks could be created for the purpose of protecting animals (deer) for the king in order to facilitate hunting.

Although from the point of view of law we consider deer as State's property or we qualify them as *res nullius*, in any case we can admit that the protection of animals in the Ancient Indian Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras existed.

¹ K. II-43, (the penalty of 500 *paṇas* is imposed for torturing to death of a calf or a milch-cow); K IV-38 prohibition of harness of oxen (वृषयमुक्षानम्) or cows which did not calve; similarly Kāty. 789 & 791; Mn VIII-295-298, VI. V-52-54 penalty for killing animals enumerated exemplarily; Brh. XXI 16 and Kāty. 769-employment of animals at an improper time, etc.

² K. II-47 sick and old horses should get "bread of charity;" K. II-46 old and sick cattle should get from the herdsmen medical treatment, etc.

³ K. II-43 (123 3-4) अभयवन mentioned twice,

दुष्टाः पशुमृगव्याला मत्स्याश्चाभयचारिणः ।

अन्यत्र सुमित्रनिम्नो वधबन्धमवाप्नुयुः ॥ (123 3-4)

K. II-20 establishments of parks for game where all the animals have access etc.

⁴ N. II-43 (नगपशु) birds fishes and many other animals are enumerated exemplarily etc.

Some Interesting Problems in
MAHABHĀRATA TEXT-TRANSMISSION

By

S. K. BELVALKAR

Problem No. 2*

In the Vulgate or the Nilakantha text of the Mahābhārata, stanza 17th of chapter 59 of the Bhīṣmaparvan (corresponding to Cal. ed. line 2524 ; P. P. S. Sastri's Madras ed. chap. 54, st. 17 ; and BORI ed. chap. 55, st. 16) reads as under :

विनिर्भिन्नाः शरैः (Cal. & Mad. नराः) केचिद्
अन्त्रा (Mad. दन्त) पीड (Mad. °पीडा) प्रकर्षिणः (Mad. °र्वणाः) ।
अभीताः (Cal. अदीनाः ; Mad. अर्दिताः) समरे शत्रून्
अभ्यधावन्त दर्पिताः (Mad. दंशिताः) ॥

The stanza occurs as part of a general description of the battle between the Kaurava and the Pāṇḍava warriors. It is thus translated by Protap Chandra Roy :

“ And some combatants were seen, who, though severely wounded, yet rushed cheerfully and proudly upon the foe in battle.”

M. N. Dutt's translation is as follows :

“ Though mortally wounded, some warriors were seen to rush upon the enemy in battle with cheerfulness and pride.”

Both the translators, it will be noticed, conveniently ignore the second *pāda*, which seems to have bothered scribes, editors, translators and commentators. The manuscripts offer quite a wilderness of variants, some due to similarity of letter-forms

* Problem No. 1 was published in the *Annals*, BORI, Vol. xxv, pp. 82-87.

in the Provincial scripts, but others doubtless caused by deliberate attempts to make suitable sense out of an apparently elusive original.

The B. O. R. Institute's Critical Edition of the Parvan is based upon 34 Mss. of text and 7 Mss. representing five different commentaries; and they offer for the *pāda* no less than 22 variant readings, besides 6 others found in Mss. not included in the Critical Apparatus. The Institute's edition claims to be based, as far as possible, upon strictly objective evidence, eschewing, as a matter of principle, all subjective considerations as such—at any rate, as the main determining factor in the choice of a reading; and rules have been formulated as to what kind of objective evidence deserves first preference, what second, and so forth.¹ But where the variants offered are so diverse, and where, as far as I can make out, nearly a dozen different interpretations of the *pāda* are possible, can we always avoid bringing in subjective considerations and choosing a reading which gives us "the best" sense? This is the problem.

The case before us is further complicated by the circumstance that the portion of the stanza that is textually uncertain constitutes, in practically all the variants, one compound word, and normally it is not permissible to take one element of the compound from one Ms. and tack on to it another element taken from another Ms. As far as possible, what is offered by a Ms. has to be treated as a unitary reading, which can be modified—if at all—by the substitution, in place of a given letter or letters, of others occupying *the same relative place* in the compound, IF these are taken from Mss. *belonging to the same version*, and IF the substitution has a *transcriptional probability* to recommend it, such as the interchange of म or झ, or of त, न, and र in the Śāradā script, or the transfer of the short and long इ or उ signs, or the superior मात्रा or ए-औ strokes, from one adjacent letter to another.

I give below the available variants classified according to the versions:

¹ For a convenient and up-to-date summing up of the position, compare Sukthankar's Introduction to the *Āraṇyaka-parvan*, p. xviii, lines 21-33.

ŚARADĀ VERSION

Ś₁ अन्तपीडाविकर्षणिः

KASHMIR VERSION

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| K ₀ अन्त्रापीडविकर्षणः | K ₁ अतापीडं विकर्षिणः |
| K ₂ अन्तपीडविकर्षिणः | K ₃ अन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिणः |
| K ₄ अन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षकाः | K ₅ अन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षणाः |

BENGALI VERSION

- | | |
|---|---|
| B _{1.2} Same as K ₄ | B _{3.4} Same as K ₃ |
|---|---|

ARJUNAMISRA VERSION

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Da ₁ रन्तपीडाप्रकर्षकाः | Da ₂ रन्तापीडप्रकर्षकाः |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|

NĪLAKANTHA VERSION

- | | |
|--|--|
| Dn ₁ Same as K ₄ | Dn ₂ Same as K ₃ |
|--|--|

DEVANĀGARĪ VERSION

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| D ₁ अन्त्रापीडप्रदर्शिनः | D _{2.4.7} Same as K ₃ |
| D _{3.5} अन्तापीडप्रकर्षिणः | D ₅ Same as Da ₂ |
| D ₆ यन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिणः | |

TELUGU VERSION

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| T ₁ अनापीडप्रकर्षणाः | T ₂ आन्त्रापीडप्रधर्षणाः |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

GRANTHA VERSION

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| G _{1.2} आन्त्रपीडप्रकर्षणाः | G ₃ अन्त्रपीडप्रकर्षिणः |
| G ₄ Same as T ₁ | |

MALAYALAM VERSION

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| M ₁ आन्त्रपिण्डप्रकर्षणाः | M ₂ आन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षणाः |
| M _{3.5} आन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिणः | M ₄ आन्त्रपिण्डप्रकर्षिणः |

COMMENTARIES

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ca. n [Passed over] | Cc दत्तापीडाप्रकर्षणः |
| Cd दान्तापीडप्रकर्षिणः | Cv Same as K ₃ |

The extra variants from manuscripts not included in the Critical Apparatus are :

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 रन्तापीडप्रकर्षिणः | 2 रन्तापीडप्रकर्षकाः |
| 3 दन्तापीडप्रकर्षिणः | 4 दन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षकाः |
| 5 आन्त्रापीडप्रकर्षणाः | 6 नानापीडप्रकर्षणाः |

Several of the above readings, it will be noticed, do not make any sense at all, unless they are slightly corrected. After that, the following interpretations seem to be possible :

(1) अ[आ]न्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिणः [°र्षकाः or °र्षणाः] — (The wounded warriors rushed upon the enemy,) dragging after them mass (*āpīḍa*) of entrails (from the gaping wounds) ;

(2) अनापीडप्रकर्षणाः — (The warriors, before they rushed upon the enemy,) pulled out (the arrows) so as to remove the (smarting) pain : आपीडारहितं यथा स्यात् = अनापीडम् ;

(3) दत्तापीडप्रकर्षिणः [°र्षकाः or °र्षणाः] — This can mean [a] They pulled out (the arrows) as they caused severe pain all round : दत्ता आपीडा यैस्तान् ; or [b] They rushed upon the enemy, wishing to excel or get the upper hand of (*prakarsaṣakāh*) those that had inflicted pain upon them : दत्ता आपीडा यैस्तान्, शत्रून् ;

(4) अ[आ]न्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिणः [°कर्षकाः or °कर्षणाः or °दक्षिणः] — They [a] exhibited ; [b] dragged out, while rushing forth, mass of entrails from their pierced body ; Vādirāja, however, explains : [c] They took out the mass of entrails and put them on the head or round the neck to stem their bleeding wounds : ❀ आन्त्राणि मसमालाः आपीडानि छिन्नशिरःसंधानाय शिरोलंकारभूताः कृत्वा प्रकर्षिणः । ❀ — How exactly this is to be conceived is not quite apparent ;

(5) द[दा]न्त्रापीडप्रकर्षिणः — This can mean [a] They dragged the pierced arrows out (by their own teeth) causing extreme tooth-ache. Devabodha, however, explains : [b] They rushed forth “ wishing to excel the tusk-fight ” (of the wounded, and therefore infuriated, elephants) : ❀ हस्तियुध्यमानाः । ❀ ;

(6) रत्नापीडप्रकर्षिणः [°र्षकाः] — They rushed forth, dragging after them their (loosened) jewelled head-gear (*āpīḍa*). This is possible on the supposition that the head-gear consisted of a long *pheta* or turban ;

(7) अ[आ]न्त्रापीडप्रकर्षि [षि] णाः [णः] — The sense would be similar to no. 4 [b] above, except that the word *piṇḍa* is more familiar than *āpīḍa* ;

(8) नानापीडप्रकर्षणाः — They rushed forth dragging after them their head-gears of various kinds ;

(9) आन्त्रापीडविकर्षकाः or °र्षणः, if emended as °कर्षकैः or °कर्षणैः to qualify the noun शरैः, is capable of a simpler interpretation, but the emendation would be purely subjective. — The readings with यन्त्रा° or आन्त्रा° (? आर्द्रा°) as the initial letters of the compound, I am not able to explain.

In the Critical Edition I have accepted, as a matter of principle, in view of the plethora of available variants with equal pretensions to originality, the reading of our best Ms., viz. Ś1, needing only a slight correction in the last two letters, which was made on the basis of the readings of the allied Mss. K1.2. This is a legitimate procedure, and it so happens that the reading अन्तर्पीडाविकर्षिणः is capable of yielding a tolerably good sense. I thus understand the situation. The mortally wounded warriors, [a] at the risk of *augmenting the death-pangs* (*antapīḍā-vikarṣiṇaḥ*); or better, — with a change of the sibilant, and reading °विकर्षिणः — [b] so as to lessen their death pangs, rushed upon their assailants in revenge. Such an act is conceivable and even probable. The picture is in any case not as frightful as that of the warriors plucking out the flesh-embedded arrows by their own teeth, or dragging after them the entrails from the gaping wounds—not caring even to stave them by the hand—or placing garlands of entrails on the head and round the neck!

A passage like the above is the despair of the text-critic, who has to leave behind all his normal methods of objective criticism and make a last forlorn appeal to what is known as “higher criticism”. But even there he has to keep as near to the canons of objective criticism as the circumstances would permit. Such extremely elusive passages are, fortunately, rather rare. I do not know whether, with other possible emendations, the passage before us can be made to yield any other satisfactory interpretation. I shall gladly and gratefully consider any such, if kindly communicated to me.

AN 'ĀDILSHĀHĪ FARMĀN-CORRECTIONS

BY

G. H. Khare

The *farman* which serves as the base of this note was first discovered by Sir J. N. Sarkar in 1930 and its text with an explanatory note was published by him in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. VII, pp. 362-364, June 1931. Since then I had the occasion to examine this very *farman* along with others and I found that Sir J. N. Sarkar had committed some mistakes in editing the same. I, therefore, re-edited it with the necessary corrections and explanatory notes and published it in the quarterly of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, Vol. XIII. No. 2, September 1932; Persian Sources of Indian History, Vol. I. p. 50, 1934. In 1940 were published in a book-form the scattered articles of Sir J. N. Sarkar under the name 'House of Shivaji' in which appears the translation of the *farman* with the explanatory note (chapter VI. p. 84). In the preface of the book the author states that chapter VI has been greatly modified and added to. But I regret to remark that the mistakes shown by me have neither been rectified nor justified. The only change in the new form is the disappearance of the text of the *farman* and consequently the textual mistakes. But neither the purport of the *farman* nor the explanatory note has been modified and the mistakes in them have been repeated. I, therefore, give here the text of the *farman* and correct the two grave mistakes committed by him.

TEXT OF THE FARMĀN

[Seal of Muhammad 'Ādilshāh *]

فرمان همايون شرف [صدر یافت بجانب کانوجی ...] از شهر سنه
 اربع اربعين الف چون شاه جی بهونسل از مردودان درگاه والجاه گشتم و
 داداجی کوند دیو منعلق او که در طرف کوندانم است جهت دفع و رفع کردن
 [و] بقبض در آوردن ان ولایت عزت و رفعت دست گاه شجاعت و شہامت
 انتباه عمده ال [اعیان] و الاقران لایف الامراحم و الاحسان فنیعم الاھالی و
 لاعیان زبہه [لقبایل و الاخوان] (کوندوجی و باجی گھور پر یانرا) باوزراے عظام
 تعین فرمودہ شدہ است باید کہ او با [جمعیت] احشام خود نزد مشار الیہا
 آمدہ از استصواب مشار الیہا داداجی کوند دیو مذکور و متعلقان ان حرام
 خوار را گو شمال دادہ نیست و نابود سازد و ان ولایترا بقبض و تصرف در
 آورد کہ باعث سرافرازی او است تا داند تحریراً فی التاريخ ہفتم شهر
 جمادی الثانی سنہ ۱۰۵۴

[In the margin*] پروانگی حضور اشرف اقدس همايون علی

(I) Sir J. N. Sarkar has deciphered the words in the round parentheses as 'Khandoji wa Bāji Khopadiyānrā'. The *farman* is torn into two strips and Sir J. N. Sarkar was misled. But I have deciphered the *farman* very carefully after joining the two strips of it and I have found that there is the letter ر between گورپر یانرا and یانرا and the word must be read as گورپر یانرا. Moreover as against seven references¹ where Khandoji and Bāji Ghorpade are mentioned together, I have not come across a single instance as yet where Khandoji and Bāji Khopade are referred to conjointly. I would request Sir J. N. Sarkar to record somewhere any such references detected by him in the course of his studies. I even doubt about the existence of any Bāji Khopade in Shivāji's times.

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar's reading two Khopades were sent against Shahāji's deputy Dādāji Kondadeva and others; but according to my decipherment two Ghorapades were sent against them. Fortunately my decipherment not only stands on its own merit, but is also corroborated by a very reliable piece of evidence. Śivabhārata whose authenticity and contemporaneity Sir J. N. Sarkar has now nothing to grumble against, describes in a graphic manner what Shivāji, the great, had said to the warriors assembled around him at the news of his father's confinement. Therein he refers to his former exploits thus :

गृहीता महिता लोके जयवल्ली मया पुरा ।

स्थापितश्चन्द्रराजश्च तस्यां तदभिलाषुकः ॥

घोरात्मानो घोरफटाः कुपिता इव पन्नगाः ।

मां जांगुलिकमालोक्य महतीं शान्तिमागताः ॥

प्रस्थाय प्रथनाय द्राक् मया विद्रावितः पुरा ।

जीवन्नादाय मुक्तश्च फलस्थानपुरेश्वरः ॥ ch. XIII, vv. 43-45

Here three incidents have been enumerated: (1) reinstating one Candrarāja on the principality of Jayavallī (Jāvalī) after capturing it; (2) subduing the Ghoraphatas (Ghorapades) and (3) making the chief of Phalasthāna (Phaltan) fly away before him. As these three incidents have been mentioned in an exhorting speech by Shivāji, the great, immediately after his

¹ Sanadāpatrem p. 105; Śivacaritrasāhitya Vol. II, No. 268, Vol. III, Nos. 544, 547; Vol. IV. Nos. 718, 719, 721.

father's imprisonment in the middle of 1648 A. D., the incidents themselves must have taken place before this time. We know that the first incident happened early in 1648 A. D. Supposing the events to have been recorded in a backward sequence, the second must have happened some time before 1648 A. D. Though the *farman* does not refer to Shivāji, the great, the Ghorapades were undoubtedly sent against him; for Dādāji Kōṇḍadeva was only the manager of Shahāji's *Jagir* in Mahārāstra, but Shivāji his representative. However as Dādāji was the legal deputy of Shahāji, only they have been mentioned in the *farman* and Shivāji's name deleted. This incident must have taken place immediately after the date of the *farman* (1-8-1644 A. D.). The date of the third incident, therefore, goes back to a still earlier period.

(II) In the explanatory note added to the *farman* Sir J. N. Sarkar makes the following statement: 'Kanhoji Jedhe' Deshmukh of Bhor, in the Puna district came over to Shivaji's side during the latter's contest with Afzalkhan (1659) and with his own contingent fought the Maratha king's battles right manfully in various places for many years afterwards.' May I remark that both the parts of the statement are incorrect?

Jedhe chronology, which even in the opinion of Sir J. N. Sarkar is one of the most valuable sources of early Maratha history, itself clearly states that Shahāji immediately after his as well as Kānhoji's release from confinement in 1649 A. D. sent the latter to Shivāji at Poona in order to help him against any odds¹ and there are documents which show that Kānhoji constantly sided with Shivāji from 1649 onwards though the Bijapur Sultan and his officers often issued orders in his name against Shivāji. In the same way it can also be shown that Kānhoji did not seem to have survived long after 1659; for we find his sons mentioned in documents from about 1662 onwards.²

¹ Sivacaritrāpradīpa p. 17.

² Ibid p. 46, Sivacaritrāsāhitya Vol. II, No. 219.

MIR KHUSRAW OR FARRUKHFĀL - A REJOINDER BY

G. H. KHARE

Since the publication of my note 'Mir Khusraw or Farrukhfāl' in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Vol. XXIV, pp. 239, 240), I had a chance to attend the Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Udaipur in December 1944. There in the exhibition arranged in connection with that session, I saw a painting of Farrukhfāl in which he was shown reclining on his stomach against a cushion resting on another cushion. The tray probably with some eatables which can be seen in my Society's painting is indeed absent in it; but it has one very important detail which is not to be found in any of the paintings referred to and described in my note. To the proper left of the reclining person stands an old, rather imatiated man in profile, facing to the left and with his hands in a posture of supplication. He has a Mughal turban on his head and a scarf on his shoulders. He is slightly and thinly bearded and a little bit bent as an old man naturally would be. Both the persons are partly touched with pale colours and in all appearance the painting seems to be very old. More important is the fact that it bears twice or thrice the seal with a legend which can be deciphered thus: سہراب خان خانزاد عالم گیر بادشاہ. This clearly proves that this painting itself belongs most probably to a period prior to Aurangzeb Ālamgīr. But the most important fact is that it bears the name فرخ فال in Persian at the upper right hand corner and the Nagari legend सवीह फरुख्फाल आसफखाने बेटी in golden letters at the bottom. Besides these legends there appears the following quatrain at the top of the painting.

حسنے کہ یہاں در خط یار است بہ بیند ماہ کہ درین سبز حصار است بہ بیند
از شوق ہم اعوش ان قامت موزون کلہا ہم اغوش و کنار است بہ بیند

The inscription on the back begins with the word ہو, contains the following quatrain and ends with the endorsement کتبہ شیخ نظام

امروز جہاں از تو منظور گشتم اقبال و ظفر ہمدم و یاور گشتم
ان روز کہ شبہا بدعا خواستمی صد شکر کہ امروز میسر گشتم

It must, however, be admitted that with all these details the question of the indentification of the person depicted still remains unsolved.

MISCELLANEA

PURĀNIC SOURCES OF THE VIBHŪTIYOGA IN THE GĪTĀ (X)

BY

A. P. KARMAKAR

The Purāṇas, while dealing with the different aspects of Indian culture, have incorporated materials from existing literature, floating traditions and various other sources. Thus they have ransacked almost all the existing data regarding ancient Indian polity, socio-religious problems, the economic ideals, art and architecture, and others. But it is also too true that while assimilating all that was best in other literature, they have also been a source of inspiration to many an author of the subsequent centuries.

The Bhagavadgītā is an excellent instance in this connection. In fact we find that innumerable passages from the Gītā have been incorporated in the different Purāṇas. Best of all, even the votaries of the non-Vaiṣṇavite sects have written whole texts after the fashion of the Bhagavadgītā e. g. the *Devīgītā* (Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa) of the Śāktas, and the *Īśvaragītā* (Kūrma Purāṇa) of the Śaivas. But, on the other hand, the Gītā also seems to have been a borrower from the Purāṇas in so far as there are common features between the passages of the Gītā and the Purāṇas. One of the unique instances is that of the Vibhūtiyoga of the Bhagavadgītā (chapter X).

Kṛṣṇa is said to have related all about his manifestations in this world. All that is best in every category of the religio-social ideas of the age, is said to have been the particular manifestation of the Supreme Being. Wonderfully enough, we find that similar passages occur in the various Purāṇas. But they are used in an absolutely different connection. It is said that after Prthu was anointed as king, he became the master of the world; and that he later on appointed the lords (sub-) of the plants and others.

We think that such an idea was current in those times—perhaps in the form of a floating tradition. And, while the Purāṇas seem to have adopted it in its original form, the author of the Gītā seems to have appropriated and made it as his own—of course after having made his own additions to the original. As an instance we are quoting the verses from the *Padma Purāṇa*¹ for the information of the reader :

यदाभिषिक्तः सकलेऽपि राज्ये पृथुर्धरिऽयामधिपो बभूव ॥
 तथौषधीनामधिपश्चकार यज्ञव्रतानां तपसां च सोमम् ॥ ६९ ॥
 नक्षत्रताराद्विजवृक्षगुल्मलतावितानस्य च रुक्मगर्भम् ॥
 अपामधीशं वरुणं धनानां राज्ञां प्रभुं वैश्रवणं च तद्वत् ॥ ७० ॥
 विष्णुं रवीणामधिपं वसूनामग्निं च लोकाधिपतिं चकार ॥
 प्रजापतीनामधिपं च दक्षं चकार शक्रं मरुतामधीशम् ॥ ७१ ॥
 दैत्याधिपानामथ दानवानां प्रह्लादमीशं च यमं पितृणाम् ॥
 पिशाचरक्षःपशुभूतयक्षवेतालराजं ह्यथ शूलपाणिम् ॥ ७२ ॥
 प्रालेयशैलं च पतिं गिरीणामीशं समुद्रं सरितामधीशम् ॥
 गंधर्ववियाधराकिन्नराणामीशं पुनश्चित्ररथं चकार ॥ ७३ ॥
 नागाधिपं वासुकिमुग्रवीर्यं सर्पाधिपं तक्षकमादिदेश ॥
 दिग्धारणानामधिपं चकार गजेंद्रमैरावणनामधेयम् ॥ ७४ ॥
 सुवर्णमीशं पततामथावतां राजानमुच्चैःश्रवसं चकार ॥
 सिंहं मृगाणां वृषभं गवां च प्लक्षं पुनः सर्ववनस्पतीनाम् ॥ ७५ ॥
 पितामहः पूर्वमथाभ्यषिचदेतान्पुनः सर्वदिशाधिनाथात् ॥
 पूर्वैशदिक्पालमथाभ्यषिचक्ष्मास्त्रा सुवर्माणमरातिकेतुम् ॥ ७६ ॥
 ततोऽधिपं दक्षिणतश्चकार सर्वेश्वरं शंखपदाभिधानम् ॥
 सकेतुमंतं दिग्धीशमीशं चकार पञ्चाद्भुवनाङ्गर्भः ॥ ७७ ॥
 हिरण्यरोमाणमुद्विगीशं प्रजापतिं मेघसुतं चकार ॥
 अयापि कुर्वति दिशामधीशाः सदावहंतस्तु भुवोऽभिरक्षाम् ॥ ७८ ॥

¹ *Padma Purāṇa, Śṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, Adh. 7, Vs. 69 ff.*

KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

BY

A. P. Karmarkar

The comparatively cooler times during the duration of the two great wars have really acted as an impetus in the field of Research in India. And after the foundation of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, we find the inauguration of the Gangannath Jha and Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institutes respectively. The whole function of the opening ceremony of the Kuppuswami Sastri Institute was carried on under the presidentship of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, at Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapur, on the 23rd April, 1943. It was all a grand success. Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, Advisor to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, made an inspiring speech and laid stress on the eminent scholarship of the late Pnt. Kuppuswami Sastri, and the learning he valued and loved. Mr. K. Balasubrahmaniam Aiyar read the report of the work done so far.

Both in his life-time and after, Mr. Kuppuswami has acted as a source of inspiration in the field of Indology. And a fitting response has been given by the public. India is in need of such centres of Research. And it is with the greatest admiration and pride that we welcome this new Institute.

The Institute begins the work with a library of 2000 rare volumes, and with the project of a few publications of the writings of the late reputed scholar.

We earnestly make an appeal to the public and especially to the Government of Madras to render substantial help to this Institute.

REVIEWS

PESHTWA BAJIRAO I & MARATHA EXPANSION by V. G. Dighe, M.A., Ph.D. Pub. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944, Rs. 6.

If the remarkable achievements of the Marathas in history have not yet found their legitimate place in historical studies in India, a very large share of the responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Maharashtrians themselves. Though considerable research has been carried on for decades now, the fruits of such studies have not been made available to non-Marathi readers by local writers. The result has been an encroachment of this field by ill-equipped outsiders, sometimes with disastrous effects. The sooner historians of Maharashtra awaken to the seriousness of this the better will it be to the interests of Maratha history.

Those obsessed with microscopic research have also been labouring under the delusion that the stream of materials must run absolutely dry before they can undertake to utilise it in writing a satisfactory or correct history of the Marathas. This will never happen. Meanwhile they cannot prevent aliens poaching into their preserves with undesirable consequences. What Shivaji and Bajirao did in the political field needs to be repeated in the field of historiography by the natives of the soil. No real history can be written by outsiders.

We therefore heartily welcome the present monograph under review, produced by Dr. Dighe of the Bombay Records Office. A short notice of this important contribution, written under irksome restrictions of paper economy, cannot do adequate justice to it. Besides, it is easier to pick holes in the writings of others than to produce anything impeccable oneself. It is surprising that the greatest military genius after Shivaji, produced by the Maratha race, has taken so long to attract a native biographer. Bajirao I wrote a very important and glowing chapter of Maratha history with 'blood and iron' between 1720-40. Dr. Dighe has chronicled his 'political biography' with

meticulous effort and thereby filled in an important gap with the careful sifting of up-to-date materials. In English, Bajirao was incidentally dealt with from the Mughal angle by Irvine in his *Later Mughals*, and by Dr. Khan, from Persian materials, in his *Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I*. Professor Sinha's *Rise of the Peshwa Power*, largely based upon the *Riyasat* of Rao Bahadur Sardesai, had all the limitations of an introductory work. The present work is more mature, scientific and terse. It completes the author's Marathi work entitled मराठ्यांच्या उत्तरेतलि मोहिमा (१७२०-१७४०) published in 1933, bringing to bear upon the theme the fruits of his further research since then. His detailed treatment of the Janjira and Salsette campaigns bears evidence of this. Unlike other biographers of Baji Rao, Dr. Dighe has avoided the perhaps not unpardonable temptation of romantic treatment. He never digresses from what is historically relevant to his deliberately restricted subject.

This is not a complete and all-sided biography of the great national hero, nor a history of his times. It modestly confines itself to 'Maratha Expansion' without venturing into the speculative fields of wiser statesmanship. In other words, Dr. Dighe has not indulged in the easy diversion of being wise after the event. Readers will readily concur with his verdict that "with all his achievements Baji Rao cannot be hailed as a great constructive genius fit to rank with Shivaji. He made no attempt to mould or reform the political institutions of his state in a way that would benefit his people permanently."

A valuable bibliography, interesting appendices and a helpful index at the end of his sixteen chapters have enhanced the utility of this important contribution to the study of Maratha history for English readers. Minor errors like "to effect a participation of his kingdom" (p. 18) and the discrepancy of spelling *Husen* Ali in some places and *Husain* Ali at others might not be overlooked.

S. R. Sharma

BRHAT-KATHAKOŚA OF ĀCĀRYA HARIṢEṆA, edited for the first time by A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt., Professor, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Singhi Jaina Series, No. 17, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1943. Quarto, pp. 20 + 128 (Introduction) + 402 (Text, Notes, Indices etc.)

Under the general editorship of the veteran Jaina scholar, Muni Jina Vijayaji, the Singhi Jaina Series, founded by the pious and enlightened liberality of Sri Bahadur Singhji Singhi of Calcutta and now given a permanence by being associated with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay, has already signalised itself by the publication of several important Jaina works. The eminence and erudition of the general editor furnish in itself a guarantee of the high standard of scholarship maintained in the texts which he has himself edited, as well as in those which has been edited by scholars carefully selected by him; and the large-sized volumes, printed on good paper and in bold type by the well-known Nirnay Sagar Press of Bombay, present an attractive appearance to their substantial content.

Among the works so far published in this series, the most interesting to the general public are the two Prabandha collections of Merutuṅga and Rājasekhara Sūri, to which is now added the present publication, as important specimens of Jaina narrative literature. Professor Adinath Neminath Upadhye, who has already to his credit critical editions of several Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Sanskrit texts, has very wisely selected the present *editio princeps* of Hariseṇa's *Kathā-kośa*, which certainly keeps up his established reputation of conscientious thoroughness and scholarly skill. It is unfortunate, however, that the editor had to start with the serious handicap of rather imperfect manuscript material, for the only three not-very-correct Devanāgarī paper manuscripts available for constituting the text belong to the same family or group, and go back, on the editor's own showing, to a palpably "common source in the near past." This has naturally taxed the editor's skill and scholarship to the utmost; but one must say that he has attained a very large measure of success in presenting a readable text, to which is appended a full apparatus criticus and textual notes.

The lengthy but learned introduction, written with care, diligence and soundness of judgment, brings together all available material bearing upon the work itself, the author, its data, its language, the type of narrative literature it represents, its sources and extent of indebtedness, and other relevant points of interest and importance. In this connexion the editor goes back to the early legendary elements in Vedic and Epic literatures, and distinguishes between what he calls the Brāhmanic and Śramanic ideology respectively, postulating the evolution of a great "Magadhan religion," indigenous in its essential traits which in his opinion, is responsible for the emergence of different types of legends, different ethical values and different outlook. He agrees with Winternitz that the Jaina and Buddhist literatures, as the best representatives of this Magadhan religion, are the major custodians of the ancient Indian ascetic poetry, which finds its best expression in their tales and fables. After a brief survey of Buddhist narrative literature, the editor analyses the broad traits of the narrative sections of the canonical and post-canonical Jaina literature, and finds in them the same ascetic and didactic tendencies. With regard to later types, he distinguishes five different kinds of Jaina narrative literature, consisting respectively of the lives of Śalākā-purusas, biographies of individual Tirthamkaras, the religious tale presented in the romantic form (e. g. the lost *Taraṅgalolā*), the semi-historical Prabandhas and lastly the Kathānakas. It is shown that the didactic and dogmatic spirit of the ascetic ideal is writ large on all of them. This is followed by a diligent survey of the Kathānaka literature with which we are here directly concerned, followed by a detailed account of the Ārādhana texts, especially the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, which cover a wide range of dogmatic and ascetic subjects. The editor believes that the *Kathā-kośa* is directly associated with the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, and shows that the source of the various Kathā-kośas go back to some Prakrit commentary on this important Prakrit text. The title and content of Hariṣeṇa's *Kathā-kośa*, in particular, are then discussed, the various strata of the text analysed and its relation to other Kathā-kośas carefully examined. Its cultural heritage and literary kinship are also scrutinised, social and historical

information gleaned, and the language of the text, particularly its grammar and vocabulary, critically studied. The lexical and grammatical peculiarities, especially the obvious Prakritisms, Sanskritisation and Vernacularisms, are indeed of great interest to the student of the so-called Jaina Sanskrit. With regard to the author Harisena, it is found that he belonged to Punnāṭa-saṃgha, and that he composed his *Kathā-kośa* near Wadhawan in Kathiawad in 931-32 A. D., during the period of Vināyakapāla of the Gurjara-pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj.

There can be no doubt that the publication bears ample evidence of careful scholarship and unstinted labour; and the very competent and meticulous editing certainly enhances the intrinsic value and interest of the work itself. The text contains 157 stories of well told and varied interest. Although the main object is to uphold the moral and religious ideals of Jainism, its importance consists in the place it occupies in Indian narrative and ascetic literature in general; and the labours of the editor are amply justified from this point of view.

S. K. De

- 1 MOUNTAINS OF INDIA, By B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. Series No. 5 of the Calcutta Geographical Society, University of Calcutta, 1944. Pp. iii + 56
- 2 RIVERS OF INDIA, By B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. Series No. 6 of the Calcutta Geographical Society, University of Calcutta, 1944. Pp. iii + 27.

In the above monographs Dr. B. C. Law has given a systematic and brilliant survey of the Mountains and Rivers of India. In doing so, he has made use of Indian literature, the accounts of the Greek Geographers, and the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. The present works are the author's excellent master-pieces.

- 3 UJJAYINI IN ANCIENT INDIA, By B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. Published by the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, 1944. Pp. V + 42 + Illustrative Plates Nos. 8.

With his rare vision and perspective Dr. B. C. Law has done full justice to the subject. The work deals with the various topics : (1) Name and Location, (2) Evidence of Yuan Chwang, and Periplus, (3) Political History, (4) Ujjayini on ancient coins, (5) Ujjayini as centre of learning, and finally, (6) Religious history. The work proves an excellent contribution especially on account of its diction, method of treatment and originality of thought.

- 4 THE HOLY GĪTĀ, Edited with an Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes, by J. J. Pandya, M.A., Kitabghar, Rajkot, 1944. Pp. xxvi + 246. Price 12/8

The Bhagavadgītā is being edited and re-edited either with its translation or otherwise. The unique feature of the present edition is that it is decently published from the point of view of popularizing it. The get up of the book is excellent and so is the matter. We strongly commend this work to readers both in the East and the West especially for its decent get up.

- 5 EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA, (2nd Edition, revised and enlarged), by Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt. Published by Nand Kishor and Bros., Benares, 1944. Pp. ix+319, Price Rs. 4/8

This is the second edition of the work. The book has been enlarged on a comprehensive scale. In the new chapter on 'General Resume', the author has made brilliant comparisons between the eastern and the Greek and Roman thinkers and medieval and modern educationists. We need not lay stress on the point again that the work is the first of its kind, and that it requires a careful study both at the hands of research scholars and a general reader.

- 6 RĠVEDA-SAMHITĀ WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SĀYANĀCĀRYA, Vol. III, Maṇḍalas 6-8. Published by the Vaidic Saṁsodhan Maṇḍal, Poona, 1941. Pp. xvii+64+967+2. Price Rs. 16/-

The third Volume of the work containing Maṇḍalas 6-8 is placed before the public now. We would only repeat what has been expressed by Dr. Katre in connection with the early publications: 'The Tilak Mahārāṣṭra University and its Vedic Research Institute have done inestimable service to the cause of Indian studies by their sustained efforts and keen critical acumen and deserve every encouragement from the Indian public, Governments and princes in particular'. The remark stands true even to this day.

- 7 ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY, compiled by Pandit V. Krishnamacharya under the Supervision of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, 1944. Price Rs. 10/-

Pandit V. Krishnamacharya has prepared this Catalogue under the supervision of the eminent scholar Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The work has fulfilled the earnest need of scholars, who can now have at least a peep into the list of the most valuable manuscripts deposited in the Adyar Library. The manuscripts themselves cover a very vast field of Sanskrit literature in all its branches. It is really a commendable attempt indeed!

- 8 A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT AND PRĀKRITA MANUSCRIPTS in the Library of the University of Bombay, Vols I & II. Compiled by Prof. G. V. Devasthali, M.A. University of Bombay, 1944. Price Rs. 20/- per set.

This is a unique Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛt manuscripts belonging originally to the Bhādkamkar Memorial Collection and the Bhagavatsiṃghji Collection of manuscripts respectively, now located in the Library of the University of Bombay. Only those who have worked in the line may realize what unsparing labour must have been devoted towards the preparation of these volumes. Prof. Devasthali has done the whole work excellently enough with the necessary broad vision and perspective which he possesses. The volumes cover an account of not less than 2408 manuscripts. Prof. Devasthali and Dr. P. M. Joshi, Librarian of the University, deserve our congratulations for bringing out these volumes so successfully.

- 9 CATALOGUE OF THE ANUP SANSKRIT LIBRARY, Prepared by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, Esqr., M.O.L., Anup Sanskrit Library, Fort, Bikaner, 1944. Pp. iii + 185.

The authors have really done a great service to the cause of Indology by preparing this most valuable and excellent catalogue of the varied collection of 1325 rare Sanskrit manuscripts housed in the Bikaner Fort.

- 10 EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAIṢṆAVA FAITH AND MOVEMENT IN BENGAL, By Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Litt. (London). Published by General Printers and Publishers Ltd. Calcutta, 1942. Pp. ii + 536. Price Rs. 10/-

This could be said to be one of the most brilliant works written by the author in his mature years. The work is divided into seven chapters and deals with various topics i.e., The Beginning of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism (Chap. I), The advent of Caitanya (II), The Six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana (III), The Devotional sentiments (Rasa-śāstra) (IV), Theology and Philosophy (V), Ritualism and Devotional Practices (VI), and finally, The Literary works (VII).

As the author himself remarks in his Preface, 'Although the term Bengal Vaisnavism is not co-extensive with the religious system associated with the name of Caitanya and his adherents, the present work limits itself to a study of Caitanyaism, which is Vaisnavism *par excellence* in Bengal. It is further limited to the early history of Caitanyaism'.

After the writing of general treatises on the subject of Vaisnavism, one really felt the want of more specialised works in the field. During the last few years works like the *Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra* by Prof. R. D. Ranade, *Vaiṣṇavism in Gujarat* by Dr. Thooty, and our work on *Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭaka*, have already stepped into the field. And Dr. De's work really fills in the great gap in the history of Bengal mysticism. With due deference to all the other scholars in the field, we must say, that Dr. De has for the first time enunciated the truth of the philosophical basis of the mystic school of Caitanya. With the writing of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa the wave of Bhakti spread in every nook and corner in India. And eventually the Vārakarīs of Mahārāṣṭra, the Haridāsas and Virāṣaivas of Karnāṭaka, the Vallabhapanthīs of Gujarat, and the Caitanyas of Bengal have all spread the teachings of this most inspiring work. But the distinction remains in so far as every school differs in its mystical interpretation of the teachings of the Bhāgavata. Barring aside the problem, for the present, whether Caitanya drew a direct inspiration from Vyāsarāya of Karnāṭaka, it may still be said with great credit that Caitanyaism has great similarities with the school of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭaka.

The present writer has made a marvellous attempt by bringing forth this unique work on the teachings of Caitanya. The author himself has indicated the nature of the difficulties beset while writing. He says: 'The peculiar system of erotic-mystic devotion of Caitanyaism, set forth as it is in a vital back-ground of myth, miracle and sentiment and speculation, and demanding a highly refined and almost super-human capacity of emotional abandon ecstasy, is not yet a superseded curiosity capable of exact academic appraisement'.

Still the author has made a judicious selection of the varied materials—both Sanskrit and Bengali, and has presented them before us in the light of the scientific methods—which are so eminently at his command. We heartily recommend this work eminent production to readers in general and scholars in particular.

A. P. Karmarkar

- 1 VIŚĀKHA-DATTA'S MUDRĀ-RĀKṢASA, translated into English from the Original Sanskrit by R. S. Pandit, Bombay New Book Company 1944

The *Mudrā-rākṣasa* is unique in certain respects. Unlike most other dramas, the theme of which is love, the *Signet Ring* deals with the problems of state-craft and policy. It has no room for sex-problems. It deals with men engaged in War and the grim struggle for power, and severely eschews women—so that apart from women attendants the only woman introduced in the play is the wife of Candanadāsa. "The author is a realist. The signet-ring is a serious play—founded upon ideas and the characters and plot are evolved to express them." This elegant translation of the unique play is literal—and closely follows the text both in the prose and the lyrical passages. The Introductory note gives some very valuable thoughts on the vital nature of Indian cultural traditions, on the history of the first contact of East and West, on the misconception of Greek Influence in Indian Art and drama, and on the nature of Sanskrit plays and the peculiar features of the play in question. At the end is added an excursus on a variety of topics such as the Sanskrit Drama, Pāṭaliputra, the author and the age of the Guptas, etc., and at the end are added textual notes. This is a very valuable contribution to the study of Sanskrit drama.

- 2 EPIGRAPHICAL ECHOES OF KĀLIDĀSA, by Sivaramamurti, M.A., *Memoirs of the Archaeological Society of South India* No. 1. Madras

Max Müller's theory of the renaissance of classical literature in the Gupta era has already become an exploded article of faith, and that chiefly through a harvest of epigraphical evidence gathered from swaths after swaths of centuries. The present work gives in a vivid manner echoes of our classical poets—but chiefly of Kālidāsa—from epigraphical records of from the 2nd to the 15th century, and demonstrates clearly how Sanskrit Classical poetry was a vital and living force which had shaped and moulded the intellectual life of our country so much so that our poets and epigraphists almost breathed that poetry with the

common air. This small book certainly makes very interesting reading, and the author deserves our thanks for opening up a new vista in our literary heritage.

- 3 *SNUṢĀVIJAYA OF SUNDARARĀJAKAVI*, edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., Reprinted from the *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras, Vol. VII, No. 1

The age-old domestic problem of the conflict between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law, the inexorable "ring-out the old and the ring-in the new," and the jealousy, the heart-burning, the anguish of divided loyalties, the great suffering which accompany these transitions have been all very well portrayed in this one-Act-Rūpaka, written by a poet who belongs to the latter half of the XIX century. The theme is too modern for classical Sanskrit, but too hackneyed and jejune for a modern reader. The author has, however, a facile command of Sanskrit metre and his verses are simple and smooth and flowing.

- 4 *KĀLIDĀSA'S ṚTUSAMHĀRAM*, with the commentaries of Maṇirāma and Amarakīrtisūri, Edited by Sita Ram Sehgal, M.A., M.O.L.

This is vol 2 of the Aryan Culture Series. It contains along with the commentary of Maṇirāma, a fragmentary commentary of Amarakīrtisūri whom the editor places at the middle of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. But it is not quite clear how so late and so fragmentary a commentary deserves to be rescued from oblivion. Beyond giving a word for word paraphrase of the text, the commentary does not supply any grammatical, rhetorical or critical aids to our appreciation of the author. The book is priced at Rupees ten, which in spite of War-time inflation is too exorbitant considering the worth of the material offered in its pages. Nor is the edition as critical as one would have wished. Two or three instances should suffice—thus a Pāda index is added but the editor should have gone a step further and indicated by the letters a, b, c, d whether the Pāda in question is the 1st or 2nd or 3rd or 4th in the quatrain. The 3rd Pāda of the opening verse of canto III is

printed as आपकशालिरुचिरा तनुगात्रयष्टिः which ought to have been printed as one expression—आपकशालिरुचिरातनुगात्रयष्टिः to yield proper meaning. It is not clear if this is just a slip or a deliberate emendation. Both commentators regard it as one compound expression, which to our mind, it is. On page xxvii the expression “wide off the mark” for the correct English expression “wide of the mark” is used probably through inadvertence. The brief survey of the season, given in the introduction, however, shows the editor’s wide acquaintance with Sanskrit classical poetry.

5 THE ĀRYĀ-ŚĀTAKA OF APPAYYA DĪKṢĪTA, edited
by N. A. Gore, M.A., with a Sanskrit commentary by
V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D.

Prof. Gore deserves our thanks for bringing out this century of Āryās, which is a delightfully devout and fervent poem, with an undercurrent of humour, and an abundance of playful wit and punning repartee, wherein the worshipper prays for grace and mercy. Dr. Raghavan’s exposition of the text is very lucid and is certainly a very valuable aid to our understanding of the poem. The question whether the work belongs to the famous Appayya Dīksita of Kuvalayānanda and Citramīmāṃsā fame or to some other writer of the same name must remain undecided in the absence of decisive evidence, although Prof. Gore inclines to the view that it is the composition of the famous rhetorician.

6 DHVANYĀLOKA AND LOCANA—WITH KAUMUDĪ,
by Uttungodaya, and Upalocana by Mm. Kuppuswami
Śāstri, published by the Kuppuswami Śāstri Research
Institute, Madras.

This is just the first uddyota of the Dhvanyāloka with two new commentaries. The text is very carefully constituted from new Mss. and will be, when complete, a valuable help for a clear understanding of this classical work on rhetoric. It is to be hoped that the managers of the Institute will endeavour to publish the remaining fascicules without much loss of time.

7 सुन्दरकाण्डम्, or the Flight of Hanumān, the Vānara² (Super-man) chief, by air. By Diwan Bahadur C. N. Mehta.

The main thesis of the author is "that the great epic War of the Rāmāyana was practically one between the combined race of *Naras* (Aryans) *Vānaras* or *Hari-Rksas* (Mongolians and Russians) who lived in the Northern Hemisphere on one side and the Negro (*Rāksasa*) races inhabiting the Southern Hemisphere on the other." So it was a global struggle, and on philological grounds the author seeks to identify Rāvaṇa's Lankā with distant Australia, while the Andaman and Nikobar represent the submerged Maināka mountain—(we have to drop Anda—from Andaman and -bar from Nicobar and what remains is Man + Nico—which is your मैनाक—a fact which is as clear as daylight provided you have the discerning eye of the etymologist who sturdily holds the motto 'न तु न निर्द्वयाद्-यथार्थं विभक्तीः सन्नमयेत्'). Java, Sumatra, Bali and other island ridges are the Sunda group of islands over which by island-hopping Hanumān flew to Rāvaṇa's Lankā i. e. Australia. This is the story of the *Sundara-Kāṇḍa* which should really be *Sunda-Kāṇḍa* as it refers to Hanumān's flight over the Sunda group of islands. One wonders what to admire in this book—whether his philological temerity, his imaginative sweep or his comprehensive vision of a world divided latitudinally into the Northern and Southern Hemispheres peopled by white and yellow races on the one hand and the dark races on the other.

C. R. Devadhar

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(पृष्ठ १) आध्यात्मिक स्वातंत्र्य ईश्वर व
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A. S. P. Ayyar, Madras,
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OBITUARY NOTICE

PRIN. V. K. RAJAWADE, M. A.

Born in 1860, in a village in Konkan, Prin. V. K. Rajawade, matriculated from the N. E. School, Poona, had his College education in the Deccan College, Poona, and the Wilson College Bombay, and he passed his B A. examination in the first class in 1882. It is said that he had a serious difference of opinion with his Examiners and this lost him his first class in M. A., so that he refused to take his degree, feeling angry at the injustice done to him. This mood was subsequently put away by some of his friends, so that a spirit of perfect understanding and respect for the examiner ultimately prevailed in the heart of this fiery examinee. The examiner was no less a person than the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the *guru* of young scholar, and strange as it would seem, Prof. Rajawade, later entertained highest respect for his teacher, a respect which was amply verified in the Professor's strenuous efforts in connection with all the activities of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, ever since the idea of its foundation was mooted in the early years of the second decade of this century.

Although sincerely attached to Sanskrit studies, Rajawade, after passing his M. A., got an appointment as Professor of English in the Arts College at Karachi, and there he applied himself to English studies most intensively, so that he soon made for himself a name as a model Professor of English. When Prof. Kelkar of the Fergusson College, died, the late Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, in the interests of the D. E. Society, most cordially invited Professor Rajawade to join the Society. Rajawade had sure prospects of substantial promotion, but in a spirit of pure sacrifice, he left Karachi, and joined the D. E. Society, where he made his English teaching most beneficial to thousands of students, and retired in 1914.

His genuine love of Sanskrit had, however, only been suppressed, all these years, and as soon as he was free, he took to

Prin. V. K. Rajawade, M.A.



Born 27-2-1860]

[Died 17-12-1944

Sanskrit studies, and one is surprised to find, that at an age when almost all persons, in different walks of life, seek physical rest and mental peace, this giant with fresh energy and bright intellect, aided by a clear head, did creditable work in that field. His "Words in R̥gveda," as also his Marathi and English editions of Yāska's "Nirukta," are proofs of his ability and patient labour.

After retiring from the D. E. Society, his services were, for some time, utilised in the Jñānakośa work of Dr. Ketkar, and it was at this time, that some students and admirers of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar conceived an idea of starting an Oriental Research Institute, in Poona, to commemorate the name and work of the great Sanskrit scholar, and Prin. Rajawade joined the working Committee, and took active part in the deliberations and activities that led to the foundation, on 6th July 1917, of the B. O. R. Institute. Prin. Rajawade was the first Chairman of the Executive Board, and when, soon afterwards, the proposal for bringing out a Critical Edition of the Mbh. was brought into proper working order, Prin. Rajawade acted as a member of the Mbh. Editorial Board, in which latter capacity, he continued to work till the end of his life. The preliminaries of the Institute were really a hard task for the workers, and it goes to the credit of Prof. Rajawade, that he never flinched from this self-imposed duty. Later on, he left Poona, to work as Principal of the M. T. B. Arts College, at Surat, where he used to teach Sanskrit. After his return to Poona, Prin. Rajawade was elected President of the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, where he guided the batch of young scholars like Messrs. Sontakke and Kashikar, and Vedic Research has had a substantial addition in the form of the critical edition of R̥gveda Samhitā, with the Sāyanabhāṣya, which this Society is bringing out.

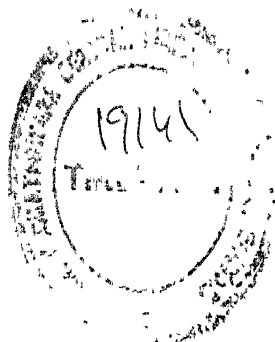
Prin. Rajawade suffered from weak eye sight, but he never allowed this defect to hinder his work. A strict disciplinarian and a staunch adherent of Truth, this respectable Rsi, had a tender, human heart, which never failed to draw sympathetically towards the deserving sufferer. He suffered from serious family losses; the untimely death, in 1920, of his son Prof. C. V. Rajawade was really a stunning blow, to the father already

bowed down by age ; but this bereaved parent merged all his sorrow in his favorite pursuit which his death (17-12-1944) alone could put a stop to !

The Bhandarkar Institute Celebrated its Silver Jubilee in January 1943, when due honour was done to this veteran scholar, by having at his hands, planted a Vata tree, to commemorate the occasion. Of late Prin. Rajawade, being much advanced in age, took little part in any public activities, yet he was always ready to speak openly with any scholar, who saw him in his home, and many scholars, young and old, thus availed themselves of his help.

He was scrupulously regular in all his daily habits, and his ability to work, even in extreme old age, was due mainly to his good health.

S. N. Tadpatrikar



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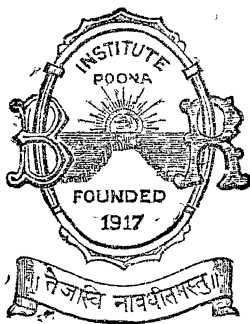
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EDITED BY

K. V. ABHYANKAR, M.A.

R. N. DANDEKAR, M A., Ph.D.



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A Statement Presented by the General Editor
AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE
MAHĀBHĀRATA PRINTING DEPARTMENT
of the B. O. R. Institute Press
[*25th of March 1944*]

Exactly twentyfive years ago – on the Caitra Suddha Pratipadā of the Śaka year 1841 – the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which had then not even completed twelve months of its corporate existence, took a momentous step forward, which is sure to be regarded, in the years to come, as a veritable landmark in the annals of Oriental scholarship in this country ; for, it was on the morning of that day that Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar wrote down with his own hand, on collation-sheets specially prepared for copying down the variant readings of the Mss., word by word and letter by letter, the opening benedictory stanza of the Great Epic of India :

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।

देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

and thereby formally announced to the world the Institute's determination to undertake the preparation of a critical edition of the great National Epic of India. Such an edition was indeed, for years, recognised on all hands as a sore need of Oriental scholarship. We, in fact, find it actually planned by the International Association of Academies of Europe and America : it was to be accomplished by the cooperation of European scholars, and with the help of funds to be raised by the Academies. After half a dozen

years spent in a reiteration of the plan with some modifications, a small brochure of eighteen pages was actually printed "for private circulation" to afford scholars an idea of the kind of critical edition that was intended to be produced. But of that original and somewhat ambitious project, nothing further except this small specimen could be got ready; and the last European War made the further carrying out in Europe of any such project by international cooperation practically impossible.

It was indeed heroic – some might even characterise it as foolhardy – for an institute, which had not even one year's work behind it, to aspire to shoulder this very great responsibility, which had already been tried and given up by the Associated Academies of Europe and of America. But in doing so, the B. O. R. Institute was only voicing a general feeling that had come over the people of this province, and of this country generally, that they should hereafter learn to stand on their own legs, and begin doing themselves what till then could only be accomplished under the lead and dictation of others. An Indian edition of India's National Epic – and a critical and a scholarly edition at that – was one of the earliest tasks that presented itself before aspiring Indian scholarship, and particularly so when it was discovered that the Kumbhakonam edition (1906-1914), which was meant to answer the declared European demand for an edition of the Southern Recension of the Mahābhārata, had utterly failed to come up to the standard. That instance merely showed the danger ahead, and so emphasized the need of proceeding on surer and more scientific lines. Such failures however could not have daunted Young India or dissuaded her from what was felt as her birth-right, namely, properly editing and interpreting, for

the benefit of the incoming generations, the outstanding literary masterpieces from her own traditioned past. This uncurbable spirit of independence and self-reliance found expression on more than one occasion and in more than one place. We find, for instance, the reviewer of one of the most extensively read Marathi books of the day, writing in the March 1918 number of the *Vividhajnānavistār* (a Bombay monthly), expressing himself as follows :

“युद्धोत्तर या कमेटीचें [Epic Text Society] काय होईल तें होवो, पण युद्धोत्तर ज्या अनेक महत्त्वाच्या व दिरंगाईवर न टाकण्याजोग्या कार्यांची हिंदुस्थानावर जबाबदारी येऊन पडणार आहे, अथवा ज्यांची जबाबदारी हिंदुस्थानानें आपण होऊन आपल्या शिरावर घेतली पाहिजे, त्यांपैकीं प्रामुख्यानें निर्देश करण्याजोगें हें कार्य [Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata] आहे, असें आम्हांस वाटतें.”

Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, who had completed his “ Picture Rāmāyaṇa ” in 1916, and was planning, about this time, to follow it up by a “ Picture Mahābhārata, ” likewise felt that it would be a good thing if those pictures could form part of a new edition of the Great Epic. Accordingly, in June 1918, he called together at his Poona residence a small informal meeting to discuss the project. A more formal and a more largely attended meeting convened a few weeks later in the Nanawada under the chairmanship of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar followed, in which the Pant Pratinidhi declared his intention (a) to donate a sum of one lakh of rupees personally towards the expenses of the contemplated critical edition of the Mahābhārata ; (b) to undertake to illustrate it by about 200 pictures, specially drawn from ancient models, by himself and under his own direction ; and (c) to entrust the carrying out of the literary part of the project to the B. O. R. Institute, which was formally inaugurated in July 1917, and was going to commence its regular work in the next few months. The

same offer was subsequently repeated at the first annual meeting of the General Body of the B. O. R. Institute held on the 6th of July, 1918, and was gratefully accepted. Eight months later—on the first day of April 1919, which was also the first day of the Śaka year 1841—the work on the Critical Edition was formally commenced at the hands of Sir Ramkrishna in the manner above related.

Since that time twentyfive long years have passed away. It is unfortunate that some of the persons who were present at those earlier meetings, and who were expected to materially help the furtherance of the project, have also passed away. It is due that mention be made here in particular of the name of Dr. P. D. Gune, the first Secretary of the Institute after its regular constitution came into force, and of N. B. Utgikar, the editor of the tentative edition of the *Virāṭaparvan*. But Dr. V. S. Sukthankar joined in August 1925, and, under his scholarly direction, the work on the critical edition progressed very satisfactorily, bringing international recognition to the Institute and its work. Under Sukthankar's lead of seventeen years, nearly 35 per cent. of the work was completed. True that a much longer way lay ahead; but the workers had now fully settled their technique, gained confidence in their methods, and had acquired a momentum, so that it was naturally felt that the next instalments of the Edition would see the light of the day in a more rapid succession. But Fate had decreed otherwise. Dr. Sukthankar, to whom the Critical Edition owes so much, was himself called away from our midst most unexpectedly! Death caught him unawares and in full harness; so that the task of gathering together the diverse tangled threads of the work where it was left, and to carry it on to its destined conclusion, became an

extremely difficult job. A younger man with a greater fund of energy should have been called upon to continue the work: the task has actually devolved upon one who is Sukthankar's senior by several years! The Bhagavadgītā has, however, taught us the correct attitude towards work that it may have fallen to one's lot to accomplish; and it shall be the effort of the Mahābhārata Department to accomplish it only in that spirit, keeping loyal to the traditions of the work already established:

गतो नाध्वा वितीराति जन्तुम् (Rgveda vii, 58. 3^c)

[The path already traversed sustains the way-farer in pursuing the path-way lying yet ahead.]

One of the main obstacles in the way of more rapidly carrying on — consistently always with the maintaining of the standard of efficiency and technical perfection hitherto attained — the remaining stages of the work lying ahead, is the circumstance that, owing to the very complicated nature of the printing involved, not even the best printing presses on this side of India are able to put more speed into the work. Two forms or 16 pages (Double Demy) per week ought to be the average speed if the work is to be at all accomplished within measurable time. This rate we have hardly ever attained. The fact is that there is, at present, a general dearth of expert workers, and there is more work everywhere than they can cope with. Under the circumstances, the only remedy, it was felt, was to have the workers exclusively earmarked for our own work; and this can happen only if the Institute is their full-time employer. So it was decided to inaugurate a special "Mahābhārata Composing Room" in our Press Department. To do this it was necessary to take in more compositors, to purchase in sufficient quantity types from the Nirnaya Sagar Foundry

of the requisite variety, and to do the whole work at home under our direct supervision. If the rate of output was to be increased, this was the only way; but it, naturally, demanded a considerably enhanced expenditure.

This was then a nice fix; but it was by no means anything unusual in the life-history of the Institute. To go no farther, during the period of 17 years of Sukthankar's editorship, when the Institute was winning golden opinions from competent scholars all over the world, the Mahābhārata Department — I can say this with personal knowledge, as I was the Institute's Secretary for a part of the period — was hardly ever able to keep away wolf from door! The Institute, in fact, had to incur liabilities of several thousands (I will not mention the actual figure to avoid frightening you too much!), and was more than once driven to borrow money even to meet its normal demands on the first of each month! I am reminded in this connection of the words of the President of one of the richly endowed of the American Universities, who once declared that he did not believe in the future of an institution that went on accumulating surpluses, and that was never driven to frame a deficit budget. I am quite sure that that President would not have found fault with the B. O. R. Institute in this respect at any rate. So, money or no money, the Regulating Council of the Institute, upon the recommendation of the Executive Board, decided to launch this new experiment, of which we are assembled here to make a formal beginning.

* * * *

I assumed charge of the Mahābhārata work from the beginning of the April 1943; and I take the opportunity, offered by the present function, of submitting a report of the work done by me during the past twelve months.

Of the *Sabhāparvan* edited by Professor F. Edgerton of the Yale University, Sukthankar had passed for printing pp. 1-296, from out of which the first 200 pages were issued as Fascicule 13, so as to qualify the edition for the annual grant from the University of Bombay, which requires the minimum of 150 printed pages to be issued per year. the printing of the *Sabhā* has now come up to pp. 456 of the Text and the Appendices, and pp. ix to xvi of the Introduction. Thus 168 pages were passed for press since I assumed charge, while approximately 140 pages more are expected to complete the *Sabhāparvan*. If nothing unforeseen comes in the way, the Volume can be issued on the 6th of July 1944, the Institute's Foundation Day. I may add that the pages as they are printed are sent to Prof. Edgerton in America ; and this is what he writes about the work. In a letter of September 2, 1943, he says : " I have been over the printed text of pp. 297-336 and found very little which calls for correction or comment. Thank you for your careful attention." — While revising the Press-copy of Edgerton's *Addenda* and *Corrigenda* before sending it on to the press, I had to occasionally modify it in small details, to remedy oversights or rectify references, as Sukthankar himself used to do. In regard to one such particularly difficult passage (2. 68. 14), I had to criticise Edgerton's interpretation. In respect of that he writes in his above-mentioned letter as follows : " I know of no other interpretation that I would prefer to yours." And in a subsequent letter of the 7th of December, 1943, he again writes : " I like your suggestion, which is certainly better than anything Sukthankar or I were able to think of. You can add this statement if you think best in the *Addenda*." In a Postscript that he has added to his Preface of some three years ago, he observes : " The new editor, Professor S. K.

Belvalkar, has most graciously and helpfully corresponded with me about the unfinished work of this book. I am confident that his scrupulous and intelligent scholarship will come as near to replacing Sukthankar as is humanly possible." So much for progress on the Sabhāparvan.

Secondly, I am glad to report that three new Parvans have been assigned to three Parvan Editors :

Dronaparvan (extent 9494) to Dr. S. K. De, Dacca ;

Karnaparvan (extent 4982) to Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Poona ;

Śalyaparvan (extent 3626) to Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Poona.

Of the three scholars, Dr. Vaidya has already started his work, while Dr. De hopes to come over to Poona for the work next Summer. In the case of all these Parvans, the preliminaries for the Parvan-editor's work in the shape of Mss. lists, collations, etc. have been completed by the Mbh. Department, and as soon as the Press-copy of any of these Parvans gets ready, and is approved, it will be sent to the Nirṇaya Sagar Press, which is for the present busy with the Sabhāparvan.

As to the Bhīṣmaparvan, edited by myself, it is ready to go to press ; but as the Nirṇaya Sagar Press is not likely to take up another Parvan for some time, and as the want of printing paper was urged, by the other presses approached, as the main difficulty in the way of their taking up this job, it was decided to undertake the printing of the Bhīṣmaparvan through the Institute's own Press Department. Our Press Department, as you know, does the composing and the correction work, and then sends the corrected galleys for being locked up in form and printed at the neighbouring Aryabhushan Press. In this way several works have been already published, including the Institue's Annals

and the History of Dharmaśāstra by Mm. P. V. Kane. It was decided to do the same thing in the case of the present Parvan; and if the experiment succeeds, in the case of some of the other Parvans. The typography of the earlier volumes of the Mbh. edition has of course to be strictly adhered to; and so the different varieties of the types required were ordered out in sufficient quantity from the Nirnaya Sagar Foundry. Doubt was expressed by some as to whether the N. S. Press would sell the required type and thus lose a prospective customer; but the Press, I am glad to report, took a very generous attitude in the matter; and what is more, supplied all our requirements within four weeks of the date of receiving the order. For this helpful co-operation the Institute ought to be certainly thankful to the Manager of the N. S. Press. The types have been all distributed into cases and properly arranged in a manner most convenient to the operators. The fitting up of this Mahābhārata Composing Room has involved an expenditure of about Rs. 4000, which the Council had already sanctioned for the purpose.

To cope with this additional work it was found necessary to engage two additional composing hands. Special arrangements had to be likewise made as regards efficient proof-correction and supervision of printing. The Aryabhushan Press has kindly agreed to employ, at their own printing machine, a special supervisor to do the needful; while, besides the arrangements already existing in the Mbh. Department for the correction of proofs, additional provision has also been made in that connection as an integral part of the Press Department itself. Some sample of the printing turned out by the Mbh. division of the Institute's Press under the arrangement which has been devised for the printing of the Bhīṣmaparvan, is already in your hands

in the shape of the present statement, while an actual sample of what our compositors are going to do in the new composing room is being got ready and will be here exhibited in a few minutes. Of course you will understand that the printing of the latter is done on a mere small handpress useful only for taking out proofs..

Even after the completion of all these arrangements, our main difficulty, in the present times, would still have been the printing paper. The kind of white, glazed and durable paper of uniform tint and texture that the Mbh. edition requires would be available now in no paper market, fair or black, in Poona or in Bombay. In fact, for the Sabhāparvan, when the available stock of paper already secured ran short, Sukthankar was already forced to accept an inferior variety of paper, paying for it a couple of rupees extra per page! It is always disconcerting to have the quality of the paper change in the middle of a volume. The Bhīṣmaparvan was estimated to cover some 850 pages Double Demy; and for an edition of 3000 copies no less than 700 reams of paper had to be secured and stocked in advance before the printing could be begun. This would have proved an insurmountable difficulty, and we were wondering whether all Mahābhārata printing would have to be entirely stopped during the duration of the present War. Such an eventuality would have proved detrimental to the enterprise; for, after the War, the paper would possibly be cheaper; but what guarantee was there that trained workers would be available? Fortunately for us, and for the future of Indian scholarship, we were able to enlist for the cause the sympathy and the enlightened interest of Mr. K. Umanath Rao, the General Manager of the Mysore Paper Mills (which are located at Bhadravati in the Mysore State),

who agreed to supply the required quality and quantity of paper specially manufactured for the Critical Edition, and send it, owing to restrictions on Railway traffic, to Bombay via Mormugao. The Manager was able to do this not without problems and difficulties of his own, including inadequate supply of bleaching material. But where there is a will, there is always a way. We got the paper of course at the controlled rates; and although the freight charges have been very heavy, and in transit some of the bales got damaged, that is preferable to the other alternative of an enforced holiday on the Mahābhārata printing pending the restoration of normal conditions. The Institute has every reason therefore to feel grateful to the management of the Mysore Paper Mills for affording this timely assistance. It leads one naturally to hope that the rest of the Epic (and the other literary works of the Institute also) will be in future printed on the high quality paper manufactured at the Paper Mills belonging to one of the most progressive of Indian States.

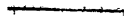
Needless to say that between the sample proof that you will shortly see to-day and the finished printed page of the actual edition there are to intervene a number of stages and processes. It will require some time for the things to adjust themselves, and, to begin with, the progress is likely to be slower. It is also realised that the work turned out at the newly established Mbh. branch of the Institute's Press will have to face comparison with the earlier work hitherto turned out by a press of long standing like the Nirnaya Sagar Press of Bombay. But our Department has made up its mind not to spare itself. The workers themselves feel that their credit is at stake. There is moreover a sense of religiosity about the work, which was most touchingly illustrated when, prior to the resumption

of the work last April, after the sad break of two months consequent upon the tragical death of Dr. Sukthankar, the Departmental Staff volunteered to undertake, by way of a "Śānti," the recitation in 7 days of the entire Śāntiparvan! Where such a spirit of devotion and service prevails, one can feel certain of every worker doing his very best: and anything better than the very best that lies in one, it is beyond the power of man to accomplish. — It may be added that despite all these extra items of expenditure involved, the work, in the long run, is going to result in a total saving of between 10 to 15 per cent of the expenditure that would have been incurred if the work had been printed at the Nirnaya Sagar or some other Press at current rates.

"सर्वारम्भास्तण्डुलप्रस्थमूलः ।" — While the plan of the work, as above outlined, would look all very fair and promising, where is the Institute going to find money for financing so ambitious a project involving a capital outlay of several thousands and a substantial addition to its current expenditure from month to month? In this matter, to confess frankly, the Institute has not found any Philosopher's Stone, but is building almost entirely upon hopes. We have, in fact, confidence in the goodness of our cause; confidence in the willingness of the lovers of our culture and the patrons of our literature — once they are convinced of the worthiness of the cause — to help it to the utmost of their powers; and faith, above all, in the unambiguous assurance of the Lord conveyed in the words of the Bhagavadgītā, that are apt to keep ringing in the ears of all believers:

न हि कल्याणकृत् कश्चिद्दुर्गतिं तात गच्छति ।

[For, no one, my dear, who is doing what is good,
can remain [long] in indigence.]



Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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BUDDHIST STUDIES

1918-1943*

BY

P. V. BAPAT

It is being more and more recognised that the studies of Pali and Buddhism cannot be entirely dissociated from the studies in earlier literature of India like the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, particularly the last and, that it is not possible to have a proper perspective of the Buddhist thought without thoroughly understanding its back-ground. Buddhism cannot be taken as a manifestation of an independent up-start movement, but it must be taken as a chain in the historical evolution of Indian thought.

I. P A L I

In Europe

The philological interest of European scholars in Pali studies in the early few years of the second half of the nineteenth century—as revealed by Fr. Müller's 'Beiträge zum Kenntniss der Pali-Sprache' (1867-69), Senart's 'Kaccāyana's Grammaire Palie' with translations and notes (Paris, 1871), J. Minayeff's

* This is substantially the same as the Presidential Address of 'Pali and Buddhism' Section at the XIIth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Benares, 1943-44.

'Grammaire Palié' (Paris, 1874), A Grünwedell's 'Rūpasiddhi,' (Berlin, 1883) etc.—was soon followed by the interest in the literature and religious thought of the Buddhists. It was considered necessary to make organised and systematic attempts in making available to the European scholars the original Pali text and Dr. H. Oldenberg published in Roman characters the Vinaya Piṭaka, or the Collection on Buddhist Discipline (London, 1879-83). When Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids retired from Ceylon Civil Service, he, with the help of other scholars, founded the Pali Text Society (1881), which since its first publication in 1882, has been publishing, until lately (1941), two volumes, at least, every year. The Society had published by the year 1918 almost all the books of the Sutta and Abhidhamma Piṭakas (except Apadāna and Tika-paṭṭhāna). If this period of 1881-1918 could be roughly described as being devoted to the publication, in the main, of the original Canonical texts of the two Piṭakas, Sutta and Abhidhamma, the succeeding period can be described as being devoted to the publication of the commentaries on the canonical texts. Commentaries already undertaken were completed and fresh ones were taken in hand and published. We may say now that the Pali Text Society has supplied to us the commentaries on most of the Canonical texts. Those on the Vinaya, Aṅguttara, Paṭisambhidā and Theragāthā are incomplete, while those on Buddhavaṃsa and Apadāna are probably on the waiting list. It is needless to say how very valuable these commentaries have been to all Pali scholars. The indexes to the published texts, canonical as well as commentaries, have been found to be very useful and we learn with much regret that the work on Piṭaka Concordance remained incomplete before the death of Mrs. Rhys Davids (1942).

English Translations of Canonical Texts

Another important activity of the Pali Text Society has been to supply us English translations of the canonical texts in Pali. This series, along with the Sacred Books of the East as well as the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, have covered most of the important books of the canonical literature. Miss I. B. Horner, on whom, we understand, has now fallen the mantle of the

Presidentship of the Pali Text Society, has given two volumes of the Book of Discipline and the third is reported to be in Press. These volumes along with the Vinaya Texts of Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (1881-85) cover most of the important volumes of the Vinayapitaka. A large part of the Suttapitaka is translated. The Dīgha-and-Majjhima-nikāyas have their translations in the Dialogues of the Buddha (1899, 1910, 1921) and Further Dialogues of the Buddha (1926-27) in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists. 'The Book of Kindred Sayings' by Mrs. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward of Tasmania (1917-1930) and the 'Book of Gradual Sayings' by F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare (1932-36) are the translations of the other two Nikāyas, Samyutta and Anguttara. Of the Khuddakanikāya, the most popular of the important volumes, the Dhammapada and the Suttanipāṭa were already translated by Maxmüller and V. Fausboll respectively in the Sacred Books of the East Series Vol. X (1881). In the Minor Anthologies, however, Mrs. Rhys Davids has included the Dhammapada also along with the Khuddakapāṭha for her translation. Udāna and Itivuttaka are translated by F. L. Woodward, while B. C. Law has given us the translations of Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpitaka (1938) in the same Series. We are further assured that the translations of Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu, with excerpts from the commentary, by H. S. Gehman and Jean Kennedy are in Press. Therā-and-Therīgāthā have been already known to readers in their English garb: The Psalms of the Early Buddhists-the Sisters (1909), the Brethren (1918). Only three volumes in this Nikāya—the Niddesa, Patissambhidāmagga and Apadāna still remain to be translated. Of the Abhidhamma, Dhammasaṅgani, the first basic work, was already translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her 'A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics' with a very learned introductory Essay (Oriental Translation Fund, No. XII, London, 1923). An excellent translation of another important Abhidhamma book, Kathāvatthu, is found in 'Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse' by Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids (1915). B. C. Law's 'Designation of Human Types' (1922) translates Puggalapapaññatti, a minor Abhidhamma text.

Thus only four works of the Abhidhamma still remain to be translated—Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna.

Non-Canonical Texts

Of the non-canonical works, the most interesting ones, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Milindapañha*, were given to us by Oldenberg and V. Trenckner respectively as early as 1879 and 1880. In addition to a few minor works of later times such as *Khuddakāsikkhā*, *Mūlasikkhā*, *Cha-dhātuvāṃsa*, *Pajjamadhu*, *Saddhammopāyana* etc, that appeared in the P.T.S. Journals from time to time, the important non-canonical treatises like *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, the most popular Manual on Buddhist philosophy by Anuruddha (1884), *Gandhavaṃsa* (Journal, 1886), a brief bibliography of Buddhist books in Pali, *Sāsanavaṃsa* (1897), a traditional account of the spread of Buddhism in Southern Asia, *Nettipakarapa*, a philosophical treatise (1902), *Mahāvaṃsa* (1908) and *Cūlavaṃsa* (1926-27), the *Chronicles of Ceylon*, *Buddhadatta's Manuals on Vinaya and Abhidhamma* (1915, 1928), *Visuddhimagga* (1920-21), the standard book of encyclopædic nature of early Buddhism and *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (Commentary on *Mahāvaṃsa*) came at intervals.

English Translations of Non-Canonical Texts

Of the most important texts of these non-canonical works, also, English translations have now become available. Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids have given (1910) the translation of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* in their 'Compendium of Philosophy' with a masterly introduction by the former. Of the same work, E. L. Hoffmann has given a German translation (1928). Another Burmese scholar, Principal P. Maung Tin gave us the translations of the *Aṭṭhasālinī* (1920-21) and *Visuddhimagga* (1922, 28, 31) in his 'Expositor' and 'Path of Purity' respectively. W. Geiger and Mrs. Mabel R. Rickmers have translated the *Chronicles*, *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Cūlavaṃsa* (1912, 1929-30). Along with the *Aṭṭhasālinī*, some other important and interesting commentaries, also have been made available to purely English readers. The *Commentary on Dhammapada*, a book of world-literature, has been translated by E. Watson Burlingame in his 'Buddhist Legends'

(Harvard Oriental Series, 28, 29, 30, 1921). 'The Debates Commentary' by B. C. Law is an illuminating translation of the commentary on *Kathāvatthu*, a text which, as tradition puts it, was added to the list of *Abhidhamma* books at the time of the Third Council of Pataliputta or Patna.

The *Jātakas* form a literature by themselves and the standard edition of V. Fausbøll stands unrivalled. Their popularity is highly enhanced by their English translations by several scholars working under the general editorship of Prof. E. W. Cowell (Cambridge Uni. Press, 1895-1913).

Thus from the short review of the activities of the Pali Text Society, it will be found that a very large portion of the credit of supplying critical editions, in Roman characters, of the texts of Pali Canon as well as of most of the commentaries goes to the Pali Text Society. In the work of translations, the credit is shared by the Society along with the organisers of the Sacred Books of the East, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, as well as the organisers of the Harvard Oriental Series, in which last we have another translation of the *Suttanipāṭa* along with the text printed, facing the translation (No. 37, 1932).

Publications in the East

(i) *Ceylon*

With the national awakening in the East, the young Buddhists of Ceylon were enthused with a new spirit of the revival of Buddhism. There was produced keenness in the minds of young men to revive the simplicity of the original Buddhist Faith, to revive the study of old Pali Texts, and to revive the practice of having Buddhist names in families on whom Christian names were more or less forced by the political vicissitudes of the history of Ceylon. Rich merchants felt an urge to do something for the Buddhist faith. In Hewavitarane family, there was founded a Trust called 'Simon Hewavitarane Bequest Fund' to provide for the publication of the texts and commentaries in Pali. With the assistance, in 1914, of the veteran Pali scholar from Maharashtra, Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi, plans were laid for the publication of the commentaries. *Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā* was published as the first in the series (1917). Then soon followed the commentaries on other texts

like the Thera-and-Theri-gāthā (1916), Dīghanikāya, first part, (1925) etc., with the total result that by now (1943) there have appeared as many as forty-four volumes—no mean accomplishment—on excellent paper, with clear type, with variants in footnotes, with indexes and with bold type for words commented upon. These are much better, on account of this last feature, than the Aluviḥāra edition. Most of the commentaries on the Sutta and Abhidhamma books are completed, or are on the way to completion. The Aṭṭhakathā on the Majjhima and on the Vinaya, however, are a long way off their completion. It is much to be desired that when the commentaries are all published, the works of the original canon are also taken in hand, along with the Tīkā or sub-commentaries. It is astonishing to find that even in Ceylon, there should not be still any printed editions of the Yamaka, Paṭṭhāna, Paṭisambhidāmagga and of all the Jātakas. It is also interesting to note that in the Simon Hewavitarane Series, Commentaries on the Nettipakarana (1921), Suttasaṅgaha (1929) and Catubhānavāra (1929) as well as the Visuddhimagga-Aṭṭhakathā—it is customary to call it an Aṭṭhakathā as it has been credited to fulfil the role of an illuminating Commentary on the Nikāyas—are included.

Although there have been several texts and commentaries printed elsewhere in Ceylon, which it is impossible to name, we may mention here Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta's Visuddhimagga (1914) and Apadāna (1930), two volumes of the Visuddhimagga-Tīkā (which end with the Indriyasaccaniddesa-vaṇṇanā) edited by Morontuduve Dhammānanda Nāyakatthera of Vidyodaya-pariveṇa, Abhidhammatṭhavibhāvinī (1933) and Aṭṭhasālīni-Mūlaṭṭkā (1938) published in the Vidyodaya-Tīkā Publication Series. Dīghanikāya (all the three vols.) is published in the Mānatuṅga publication Series (1929) and Vimativinodanī, the tīkā on Vinaya-Aṭṭhakathā is published by Dr. H. Gabriel de Silva, Colombo, 1935.

(ii) *Siam & Cambodia*

In Siam, with the patronage of the members of the then Royal family, things have been much favourable. The Commentaries

(*Atthakathā*) were published in and about the year (1920, B. E. 2463), while the whole of the Canon has been reprinted (1925-28) on excellent paper in 45 volumes. The *Jātakatthakathā* also has been published in ten volumes (1922-24). There are indexes, by no means exhaustive, to the Commentaries and though much has thus been done to facilitate the work of a scholar, one cannot help remarking that the usefulness of these volumes would have been increased if the original words commented upon had been printed in some distinctive type to enable them to be distinguished from the rest, as has been done in the books of the Simon Hewavitarane Series of Ceylon. *Dīghanikāya-padānukkamo* (Index to the *Dīgha*) is published under the patronage of the Royal Institute of Bankok (1933). *Pañcikā* (? *Pañjikā*) on *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī* (1933) and several *Jātaka* collections in Siamese have appeared. Another interesting publication is a reproduction of Lefmann's *Lalitavistara* with the Siamese translation (1933). In Cambodia, also, this modern activity in Buddhist publications is on the increase. Buddhist institutes were established at Phnom-penh (1930) and at Laos (1931). Several Pali texts with translations have appeared. Mlle. Suzanne Carpeles of Phnom-penh reported in 1937 (P. T. Society's report for 1937) that the work of the printing of the *Vinayapitaka* with text and translation, in Cambodian, in fifteen volumes was completed and that the *Mahāvāravagga* of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* of the *Suttapitaka* was going to the press. Numerous little tracts have also been published in Cambodian translations for the use of the laity.

(iii) *Burma*

Burma has always been leading in the field of Tipitaka studies and a whole series of canonical texts, Commentaries, important non-canonical works, and *Tīkā*s have been published from time to time. The art of presenting the works to the readers in an attractive form seems to be far from the minds of these printers and publishers. They print even verses also as in prose, although in later editions attempt at improving this technique seems to be aimed at. Books published from the Hanthawaddy Press, P. G. Mundyne Pitaka Press, and Zabu Meit

Swe Press need to be specially mentioned. An important text published in the last mentioned Series is *Peṭakopadesa* by Mahākaccāna. Hardy had prepared a copy in Roman characters of this text and it has been still preserved in the State Library, Berlin. It was used by Rudolf Fuchs for his '*Specimen des Peṭakopadesa*,' Berlin, 1908. This is a companion volume of the *Netti-pakarapa*, but does not seem to be much studied. Another interesting thing about this text is that it quotes certain passages which are from what the author calls '*Ekuttarika*'—evidently corresponding to *Āṅguttara*—a title which is used by the Sarvāstivādins, although in another place it quotes from *Āṅguttara* as well. Another interesting feature of this series is that the words commented upon are indicated by a star. A number of sub-commentaries like *Atṭhasālini-Yojanā*, *Anutkā*, *Madhusārattadīpanī*, *Atṭhasālini-Mūlaṭṭikā* and the *ṭikās* on other *Atṭhakathās* are available.

(iv) *India*

Just as the scholars of Europe, or of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia etc., prefer to use for Pali the characters used in their own land, so also, in India, the students of Pali prefer to use Indian characters for Pali. After the introduction of Pali studies in the University of Calcutta or of Bombay, the Indian student keenly felt the need of Pali books in Indian characters. Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya's *Milindapañha* (only a part) appeared in Bengali script. His *Pali Prakāśa* and *Pātimokkha* appeared in Bengali, while Prof. R. G. Bhadkamkar published in Devanāgarī characters his *Jātakapupphamālā* (1912). With the vigorous efforts of popularising Pali, Prof. D. Kosambi published his *Pali Reader, Part I* (1914), *Bāhiranidānavarṇanā* (1914) and *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakatṭhakathā* (1915). The late lamented Prof. C. V. Rajwade published the IIInd part of *Pali Reader* as well as *Haṭṭhavana-gallavihāravamsa* (1916) and later, with the co-operation of Prof. N. K. Bhagvat and the present writer, *Majjhimanikāya* (*Mūlapannāsaka*) 1918. The present writer published in 1924 a very critical and scholarly edition of the *Suttanipāṭa*, several hundred copies of which were unfortunately burnt in the fire of

the Aryabhushana Press (1926) with the result that the book is now out of print. Bimal Churn Law followed with his *Cariyāpitaka* and *Dāṭhāvamsa* (1924, 1925), which, however, appear to be printed off by the publishers, without perhaps referring the proofs to the Editor, as is so often the experience of the editors or authors. For, there are several very gross mistakes which do not appear to be possible from a scholar like B. C. Law. Prof. N. K. Bhagwat of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has given *Jātakakathāsandoḥa* (1929), *Khuddakapāṭha* (1928), *Dhammapada* (1935) and when he became a member of the University Senate, he got the University of Bombay start the Devanāgarī Pali Texts Series, in which appeared the *Nidānakathā* (a reprint of Kosambi's edition 1915,) *Mahāvamsa* and *Dighanikāya* (2nd vol., 1936), *Majjhimanikāya* (*Majjhima-paṇṇāsaka* (1937-38), *Therīgāthā* and *Theragāthā* (1938-39), *Milindapañha* (edited by Prof. R. D. Vadekar of Poona, 1940). *Mahāvagga*, we understand, is in Press. *Paritta* and *Buddhaghosuppatti* may also be mentioned to his credit, although one wishes there may have been exercised a greater care in selecting the proper readings in the latter.

A similar attempt has also been made at Saranath, Benares, by the Mahābodhi Sabhā, and we have as many as eleven books of the *Khuddakanikāya*—all the volumes except the *Jātaka*, *Niddesa*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and *Apadāna*—edited by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtiyāyana, Ānanda Kausalyāyana and Jagadīśa Kāśyapa and published by Rev. Uttama of Burma. It is not for us, here, to express any opinion on these attempts, but even as first working editions, one wishes they had been more carefully and critically edited, with introduction and indexes.

Other more praiseworthy attempts may be mentioned in Prof. D. Kosambi's edition of the *Visuddhimagga*, part I, Text, published by the Bhāratīya Vidyābhavana (1940), Andheri, Bombay, and part of the same with his own independent, lucid commentary, *Visuddhimaggadīpikā* (1943), and that of *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* with his own simple and remarkably clear Commentary, *Navanītatīkā* (Mahābodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares, 1941). Both these volumes have been sup-

plied with indexes and in the case of the former, he has also given the list of the important variants. While on this point, one cannot but be reminded of the attempts, spread over more than half a century, of the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A., at giving a standard edition of the text and translation of the *Visuddhimagga*, originally attempted by Henry Clark Warren (1854-1899), the author of *Buddhism in Translations* (Harvard Oriental Series, No. 3, 1896). Prof. D. Kosambi and the present writer have had the good fortune of being associated with these attempts. But we are quite at a loss to know why the fruit of these attempts has not yet seen the light of the day. Prof. C. V. Joshi's *Manual of Pāli and Pāli-bhāṣā-praveśa* by N. V. Tungan, New English School, Poona, have been found to be very useful manuals of Pāli Grammar. But Rev. Jagadīśa Kāśyapa has given us an excellent edition of Moggallāna's grammar in his *Pāli Mahāvyaākaraṇa* (Mahā-bodhisabbhā, Sarnath, 1940) written in Hindi and provided with all the necessary indexes. This book gives, in the first half, a very systematic treatment of the subject, suitable to the modern methods, and leaves nothing to be desired. Thanks are also due to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for including as the first three, in their newly started Bhandarkar Oriental Series, books of Pāli literature. Prof. R. D. Vadekar has earned gratitude of the student-world by his edition of the *Pātimokkha* (1939) which would be found as highly useful by students of Vinaya. With him as joint-editor, the present writer has laboured for several years in preparing critical editions of two very difficult works of Abhidhamma character—*Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (1940), and *Aṭṭhasālini* (1942). These editions have been very highly spoken of. The scholarly Introductions have been of considerable use even to laymen to understand the abstruse contents of the two works, and lay bare the intricacies of the subject matter dealt with in these books. The typographical devices and the exhaustive indexes highly increase the usefulness of the works even as books of reference on the subject of the Abhidhamma.

In passing, we may also refer to Dr. Batuknath Sharma's *Pāli Jātakavālī* which gives the Pāli Jātakas with their Sanskrit

rendering printed on the opposite page. This Sanskrit rendering, though it occasionally misses the significance of the Pāli idiom, will go a long way in popularising the Jātakas among the Sanskrit pandits. In Bengal, Thera-and-Therīgāthā, Majjhima-Mūlapannāsaka, Mahāvagga, Buddhavaṃsa, Dīgha (vol. i) Pacittiya, Udāna were published by the Buddhist Mission, Rangoon, in Bengali script.

Translations are made, in Bengali, of the Jātakas by Raisaheb Ishan Chandra Ghosh, of Dhammapada by Charu Chandra Ghosh, of Thera-and-Therīgāthā by Bejoya Chundra Majumdar and of Udāna and Majjhima, the latter by a gentleman from Chittagong, whose name I have not yet come to know. Only the other day, I saw a Bengali Translation of Suttanipāta, by Bhikshu Silachandra. In Marathi, also, there have appeared translations of Khuddakapāṭha (1928, by Prof. N. K. Bhagvat) of Dīghanikāya by Profs. C. V. Rajwade and C. V. Joshi, of the Suttanipāta by Prof. D. Kosambi (Vividhajñānavistāra 1937, pp. 49-56, 89-96, 137-144, 179-194, 229-236, 277-284, 345-52, 372-76) and of a few select Jātakas by Prof. C. V. Joshi of Baroda, who has also edited for the Pali Text Society Saddhammapakāsinī, the Commentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga, (1933, 1941) and who, as has been remarked already, has prepared for high school students 'A Manual of Pali' which has become very popular as has been vouchsafed by the several editions through which it has already run.

In Hindi, several works from Pali have been translated by the members of the same trio from Sarnath, severally. Rāhula Sāṅkrīyāyana is responsible for Buddhacaryā, which appears to give the life-account of the Buddha in the form of translations of original passages from Pali, as well as for the translations of the Dīgha, Majjhima and Vinaya (first four vols.). The translator, rather with a sense of gratification, mentions the period of only a few weeks in which the work of the translations was accomplished. One would really wish that the translator had taken at least as many months as the weeks he was engaged on these works, as the work contains several glaring mistakes. Jātakas from 1-250 have been translated by Ānanda Kausalyāyana (Hindi Sāhitya Sammelana, 1942). In addition, some

works like the Abhidhammatthasangaha, Udāna by Bhikkhu Jagadīsha Kāshyapa (1938) and Milindapañha have also come in Hindi garb.

II. BUDDHIST SANSKRIT

But Pali literature represents only a fraction of the Buddhist literature. It is well-known that the Buddhists preferred to have their literature worded in their own speech (*sakāya niruttiyā*) and that is why we find the Buddhist literature like the Prakrit Dhammapada (by Barua and Mitra) in Kharoshthi script, in a spoken dialect of the people in the regions to the North-west of India, or in Central Asia, or like the translations in Soghdian, Kutchee, or Uigurish languages of Central Asia. But a time came when the Buddhists of India thought it necessary to adopt, for their sacred literature, the Sanskrit language, perhaps for securing the sanctity or, perhaps, for securing the facility which the Sanskrit speech enjoyed as an inter-provincial language, and as a common vehicle of expression used by the Pandits, all over the Indian soil, for their religious or philosophical thought. Though the Sthaviravādins (the Theravādins of Ceylon) remained staunch in their loyalty to the Pali-Prakrit idiom, the Sarvāstivādins of what later came to be styled as the Hinayānists, and the Mahāyānists did adopt the Sanskrit speech for their religious literature. The Sarvāstivādins had, as counterparts of the Pali Nikāyas, the Āgamas known as Dirghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Saṃyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama in Sanskrit. Although most of this Sanskrit literature, except a few fragments of the Āgamas and of the Vinaya, is now lost, the Tibetan and the Chinese versions of these texts are still extant.

Literary works

But occasionally these missing texts are, in fragments, no doubt, discovered from the buried treasures in Central Asia. N. P. Chakravarti has given in his ' L'Udānavarga Sanskrit ' (Paris, 1930) such fragments with translation and notes in French. Other sūtras of the class known as Arthavargiyas, corresponding to the Pali Atthakavagga, have also been discovered and Prof. A. F. R. Hoernle has discussed these surviving fragments of a Sanskrit version (JRAS. 1916, pp. 709-732),

which differs from the present Pali text, in as much as several of these fragments reveal a prose introduction which is absent in the Pali version. There has been also a Chinese version of the same (Nanjio, 674) of which we shall have to say something later. A similar version of the Pali Pātimokkha appears to have existed and Prof. M. Nagai has made a comparison of the Bhikkhu-Pātimokkha in Chinese and Pali (1928). A number of Sanskrit manuscripts written in Gupta script of the 6th or the 7th century A. D. have been recently discovered—some of them as recently as 1931-32—and we are very much indebted to Dr. Nalinaksh Dutt for having edited, for Kashmir Government, these texts (Gilgit Manuscripts, Vols. 1, 2, 1939; vol. 3, part ii, 1942) some of which like the Bhaisajyaguru sūtra, Ekādaśa-mukha, Hayagrīva-vidyā etc. are minor texts, but others like the Samādhirājasūtra and Vinayavastu are quite substantial. Samādhirāja sūtra in part did once appear as a publication of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta in 1879, but the other, Vinayavastu, is a very valuable discovery. It is a Sanskrit counterpart of the Pali Vinaya, agrees, in certain chapters, very closely with the Pali text, though differing in others very substantially. The published portion is about one fourth of the whole and represents chapters VII-X. Chapters I-VI have been, we understand, entrusted to Prof. P. C. Bagchi and we are looking forward to the publication of these chapters as well as others, which are expected to cover as many as three more parts. The Sanskrit of this version definitely points out to a Prakrit original. There is the difficulty of sanskritising the Pali-Prakrit original and several terms like the posa (Pali, posa), paścāt-śramaṇa (pacchā-samana), avadhyāyanti, ksipanti, vivācayanti (ujjhāyanti, khipanti, vipācenti), sthāpayitvā (thapetvā, in the sense of except) arthavaśa (atthavaśa) point to the Pali expressions. Sometimes there is an incorrect sanskritisation as Puskarasārī instead of Puskarasādi corresponding to Pokkharasāti of Pali.

To our scanty collection of Buddhist Sanskrit books, several additions have been recently made. Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra, one of the important sūtras of the Mahāyānists appeared in the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series (1908 ff), in

which several other sūtras have been published in excellent editions. Of the Central Asian recension of this Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, we know from N. D. Mironov in the *Buddhist Miscellanea* and W. E. Soothill has given (1930) in his 'Lotus of the Wonderful Law, or the Lotus Gospel' simply a rendering of one of the Chinese versions of the original Sanskrit text, of which the translator seems to be making no use. *Laṅkāvatāra* which was printed in Calcutta in 1900 appeared in a new edition by Bunyiu Nanjio (Oxford Uni. Press) in 1923. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, another less important but a very popular sūtra, has appeared at Kyoto under the editorship of Nanjio and Hokei Idzumi (1931). This sūtra had also a local importance, in as much as portions of this sūtra were recited at the coronation ceremony of Japanese kings. Johannes Nobel has given a very admirable edition of the same in Roman characters, with a very learned introduction (1937), while Dr. D. W. Radloff has given an 'Uiguirischen' version of the same (B. B. No. 27, 1930). The late Baron A. Von Staël Holstein has given us an excellent edition of *Kāśyapa-parivarta* (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1926), a *Mahāyāna* sūtra of the *Ratnakūṭa* class, with Sanskrit, Tibetan and four Chinese translations. The unique paper manuscript on which the Sanskrit text is based was found in Khotan in Chinese Turkestan, towards the end of the last century by local treasure-hunters and sold to M. Petrovsky, the late Russian Consul at Kashgar, who subsequently sent the same to the Academy where the editor studied it and from which a photographic reproduction was taken by him for his use. It is written in characters of the Khotan variety of the Indian Gupta alphabet (upright Gupta) with peculiarities which point to the ninth or tenth century A. D. as the probable date of the manuscript. A Mongolian translation of the same is also known to have been in existence, though all attempts of the editor for securing the same failed. Another important *Mahāyāna* doctrine of the ten bhūmis or planes has been treated in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (edited by J. Rahder, 1926). This sūtra also has been a very popular sūtra and has been translated into Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese. A glossary of words in all these languages as well as in Sanskrit has been prepared by

Prof. Rahder (*Buddhica*, Paris, 1928) and it will be highly useful to check up the interpretations of the original Sanskrit in these different translations. Prof. E. H. Johnston gave us not only another edition of the text of the *Buddhacarita* (Cantos I-XIV) already edited by Cowell (1893), but the translation of original Sanskrit text as well as the translation of the Tibetan and Chinese versions of cantos XV-XXVIII (1937). He has also translated (1932) for the Punjab University another poem, *Saundarānanda*, of Āśvaghoṣa. Prof. Lüders had revealed (1911), from fragments of manuscripts found at Turfan, the existence of at least three Buddhist dramas, of which *Śāradvatīprakarana* of Āśvaghoṣa may be mentioned. He has to his credit another important discovery—that of *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, the original of the Chinese translation which gave the wrong title *Sūtrā-lamkāra* (Nanjio, 1182). He has shown that its author was not Āśvaghoṣa but a Taksasilā monk named Kumāralāta (Leipzig, 1926). Prof. Sylvain Lévi edited *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* and *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* (Paris, 1932). The former gives the Sanskrit version of the Pali *Cūlavibhaṅga-sutta* of the *Majjhima* (No. 135) with the addition of stories included in the Pali commentaries. The story tells us of the birth, as a dog, of the father of Śuka Taudeyaputra (Pali, Todeyyaputta), and the Buddha is represented as explaining to the son that the dog barking in his house was none else but his father, reborn as the result of his karma. The Italian savant, G. Tucci, has given (*JRAS* 1934. pp. 307-25 ; 1936 pp. 237-252. 423-35) the first, second (incomplete) and fourth chapters of the Sanskrit text, *Ratnāvalī*, by Nāgārjuna, often quoted in the Mahāyāna literature of India and Tibet. The third chapter is missing and the fifth chapter was promised to follow. Prof. Sylvain Lévi and Susumu Yamaguchi have edited (Nakaku, 1934) *Madhyānta-vibhāgaṭīkā*, a systematic exposition of the *Yogāvacāra-vijñapti-vāda* as contained in Vasubandhu's *Bhāṣya* on the *Madhyānta-vibhāgasūtra* of Maitreya Asaṅga. As important contributions to the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, may be mentioned *Abhisamayālamkāra-Prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-sāstra*, edited by Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller (B. B. No. 23, 1929), the fascicule I of which gives the Introduction, Sanskrit text, and

Tibetan translation. A Japanese scholar, T. Matsumoto, has given us (Bonner Orientalischen Studien, Heft I, Stuttgart, 1932) a specimen of the Sanskrit text (with its Chinese translation) known as *Suvikrāntavikrāmi Prajñāpāramitā*. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutta has given *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Luzac & Co., London, 1934). He tells us in that connection that the extant manuscripts of *Pañcaviṃśati* do not represent the original *Pañcaviṃśati* from which the Tibetan and Chinese translations were made. *Abhisamayālamkārikā* is a commentary, from the *Yogāvacāra* point-of view, on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* by Maitreya-nātha. *Abhisamayālamkāra-āloka* is a commentary by Haribhadra on *Abhisamayālamkāra kārīkā* and is edited by G. Tucci (Gaekwad O. Series, No. 62 1932) with indices of proper names and special words. Prof. U. Wogihara has also given us the whole of the text in Roman characters (1932-1935).

Philosophy & Logic

As an exponent of *Sarvāstivāda* Buddhism, nobody could be called a stronger champion than Vasubandhu. Prof. G. Tucci has edited from a manuscript in Nepal—copies of which could be traced to French Sanskritists also—the *Trisvabhāvakārīkā* of Vasubandhu, of which Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin has also given an edition (Bibl.B. vi. No. 163). Perhaps the most important of Vasubandhu's works are *Abhidharmakośa* and *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana has attempted to restore (1932), with the help of the Commentary, *Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* of Yaśomitra, and the *kārikās* and notes given in Louis de la Vallée Poussin's monumental translation in French (1923-31), the *kārikās* of Vasubandhu, with his own comment in Sanskrit. The study of this work is further aided by the publication of U. Wogihara's edition of that Commentary, *Sphuṭārthā* (1932-36), of which only two fascicules are published (1918, 1930) in the Bib. Buddhica Series. Other important publications in connection with Vasubandhu's philosophical works are the two tracts, published from a Nepalese manuscript by Prof. Sylvain Lévi (1925), of *Viṃśatikā* with the author's *Vṛtti* and of *Trimśikā* with the commentary of *Sthiramati*. Hermann Jacobi has given a German translation

of *Trīmśikā* as well as of the Commentary. This same thesis of Vasubandhu has been the subject of two other volumes (1928-29) of Poussin, where he is giving the French translation of the Chinese Commentary on *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* by Yuan Chwang. G. Tucci has published (JRAS 1930, pp. 611-23) from a Nepalese manuscript in Newari characters, a fragment from the *Pratītya-samutpādavyākhyā*, Vasubandhu's Commentary on *Pratītya-samutpādasūtra*. While dwelling on this point we may as well mention Dr. V. Gokhale's thesis (Bonn., 1930) on *Pratītyasamutpādasāstra* of Ullangha, translated into Chinese by Dharmagupta (607 A. D.) and Amoghavajra (8th century A. D.). B. C. Law has discussed (JRAS 1937, pp. 287-92) the various forms in which the Law of Causation appears in Pali texts with the additional interesting information that while the Kurram inscription on a casket gives only one aspect (samudaya aspect), the two brick inscriptions at Nālandā give the same in the form of the *Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā* of Vasubandhu. Further light is thrown on the subject by E. H. Johnston's 'Gopalpur Bricks' (JRAS 1938, pp. 547-53) where he tells us that on bricks II and III from Gopālapura (Gorakhpur Dist., U.P.) preserved in the Indian Institute at Oxford, he finds the law beginning with the middle and ending with *viñāna* and not *avidyā*. This stage perfectly agrees with that stage preserved in the *Mahāpadāna* and *Mahānidāna* suttas in the *Dīgha* (Nos. 14, 15). Prof. Tucci in his *Pre-Dīnnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese sources* (G. O. S. No. 49, 1930) tells us of *Śataśāstra* of Āryadeva, *Vigrahavyāvartani* of Nāgārjuna, and of other works like *Upāya-hṛdaya* and *Tarkaśāstra* preserved in Chinese. He also describes to us the *Nyāyamukha* of Dinnāga (JRAS 1931, p. 483), the oldest Buddhist text on logic, after Tibetan and Chinese material. He has also published the English translation of the same Chinese version, at Heidelberg, 1930. As a help to the understanding of the same, Śaṅkarasvāmin, a disciple of Dinnāga, wrote his *Nyāyapraveśa* (GOS, No. 38 edited by A. B. Dhruva). There is the *Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, and *Pañjikā* on the latter by Pārśvadeva. Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya has the credit of editing, in the same series (No. 39, 1927), the Tibetan text with Introduction and notes etc. Our study of Buddhist logic is further aided by Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* with the *tīkā* of Dharmottara, and with their most illuminating exposition in T.

Stcherbatsky's two volumes on 'Buddhist Logic.' (1930, 1932). Another important work on Buddhist philosophy (8th century A. D.) edited by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya is 'Tattvasaṃgraha' (GOS 30, 31, 1926) by Śāntaraksita with Pañjikā by his disciple, Kamalaśīla. We have its English translation (GOS. 80, 83; 1937, 39) by Dr. Ganganath Jha who, by his English translations of several Sanskrit works on Indian philosophy, has conferred a great boon on non-Sanskritist students of Indian philosophy.

Tantric Works

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa edited by T. Ganapati Shastri in Triven-
drum series has been now followed by several books on Tantrism
and we are much indebted to Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the Director
of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for having got published
several books on the subject in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.
He himself has edited in that Series 'Two Vajrayāna Works'
(1929), Tathāgataguhyaka or Guhyasamāja, the earliest and
most authoritative work of the Tantra School (3rd Century
A. D.), with which we may also mention by the same author
'An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism', London, 1932.
Advayavajrasaṃgraha, edited by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya
Harprasada Shastri is a collection of twenty short works by
Advayavajrasaṃgraha, a professor of Adikarmapradīpa school
flourishing in the 11th century A. D. Sekoddeśatikā, a com-
mentary of Nāropā or Nadapāda, discovered by Prof. Tucci in
Nepal, has been edited by his pupil, M. E. Carelli (1941, GOS. No.
90). It is a commentary on the Sekoddeśa section of Kālacakra-
tantra describing the abhiseka or initiation of a disciple into the
mystic fold. Prof. P. C. Bagchi has added to our knowledge of
the subject by his 'Studies in the Tantras' (Cal. Uni. publica-
tion) and by his article 'On some Tantric texts studied in
Ancient Kambuj' (IHQ. 1929, pp. 754-769). Dr. S. K. De of
Dacca University has described the Buddhist Tantric Literature
(in Sanskrit) in Bengal (NIA i. pp. 1-23). Dr. Jatindrabimal
Chaudhari's edition of the Tantrarājatantra (Contribution of
Women to Sanskrit Literature, vol 5, Calcutta, 1940) with
the Commentary, Sudarśanā, has an interest of its own in that the
author of the commentary is a lady, wife of another scholar,

Premanidhi, an inhabitant of Kumaun, in early 18th century A. D. The authoress exhibits a literary grace and scholarly traits, with a command over Sanskrit language and a mastery of logical technicalities. She is often found to be combating the views of previous commentators. K. P. Jayasval has made use of the historical material of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa in his 'Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text' (Lahore, 1934). The mystic term 'Sandhābhāṣā' is traced by Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya (IHQ 1928, pp. 287-96) to the Pali expression *sandhāya bhāṣitaṃ*, speech aiming at or having in view a certain thing, which is the same thing as *neyārtha vacana* or *ābhīprāyika vacana* and is used in that sense in Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Laṅkāvatāra etc. Dr. P. C. Bagchi gives several new documents and extracts from Tantric texts and discusses various forms of sandhābhāṣā with Sanskrit and Chinese equivalents, (IHQ. 1930, 389-96). Another paper contributed by the same Professor to the Calcutta Oriental Journal (1934, No. 5) 'Some Aspects of Buddhist Mysticism in the Caryāpadas' deals with the same. Ordinary terms like boat, rat, elephant are not taken in their ordinary sense but they have a special sense in the mystic lore.

Influence on South Indian Literature

As a result of direct or indirect influence of the works of Buddhist masters like Dīnāga may be mentioned an Old Tamil classic, Maṇimekhalai, which was brought to light, as I am informed by a competent authority, by Dr. Mahāmahopādhyāya Svaminātha Aiyar, among some rare Tamil Classics on Buddhism. The discovery of this work has aroused great interest among scholars and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Pandit N. Aiyaswamy have written on the same in their various contributions.

III. TIBETAN

Aids to Study

We must now turn to another vast store of Buddhism—Bkaḥgyur (popularly known as Kanjur) and Bstan-ḥgyur (Tanjur) of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The study of Tibetan language is much facilitated by the enlarged edition of Jäschke's Tibetan Grammar with the Addenda by A. H. Franke and W.

Simon (1929) as well as the reprint of Jäschke's Tibetan-English Dictionary. Students of Sanskrit will be grateful to Prof. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya for his *Bhōṭa-prakāśa* (Cal. Uni., 1939), which gives the outlines of the Tibetan grammar and selected passages for reading taken from Tibetan translations having Sanskrit originals. The notes, translations and word-for-word renderings give it the character of a 'Royal Road to Tibetan'. These books with the old Dictionary of Tibetan-English by Sharatchandra Das (1902) may further be supplemented by the Tokyo edition of the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (edited by Sakaki, 1926) which give the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese equivalents as well as a highly useful index of Sanskrit words.

Catalogues

For the study of the Buddhist Tibetan literature, we have now 'A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur preserved in the library of Otani Daigaku' Kyoto, Japan (1930-32). This Catalogue compiled by B. Sakurabe and Prof. Teramoto contains a detailed list of sūtras collated with the existing corresponding texts in Sanskrit, Pali and Chinese. It also gives the page references to the Narthang and Derge editions of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Another equally useful Catalogue of both Kanjur and Tanjur, edited by Profs. H. Ui, M. Suzuki, and Y. Kamakura, is published by the Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai, Japan, 1934. The indexes (Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese) are given in a separate volume.

Translations from Pali

It was for a long time believed that the Tibetan Tripiṭaka contains translations of Buddhist works from Sanskrit only. But on a closer examination it has been found out that there are a few (very few indeed when compared with the mass of translations from Sanskrit) texts rendered into Tibetan from Pali. A distinct proof has been given by Pandit N. Aiyaswamy Shastri in his 'First Sermon of the Buddha' (NIA i. 473 ff.) where he gives a Sanskrit rendering of the Tibetan translation of Dharmacakrapravartana sūtra. The colophon as rendered by him clearly mentions Simhaladvīpa where the translator's teacher had his pravrajyā and that he was staying in a Vihāra which

was a seat of bi-linguists. Friedrich Weller has given the Mongolian and Tibetan version of the Pali *Brahmajālasutta* with its German translation (ZII Band 10 Heft I, 1935). Kanjur, Mdo, vol. XXX contains thirteen (Nos. 13-25) such texts translated from Pali. As prominent among such sūtras may be mentioned *Āṇāṇāṭiya-sutta* (Dīgha, 3rd vol.), *Mahāsamaya-sutta* (Dīgha, 2nd vol.), *Girimānanda-sutta* (A. Xth nipāta, vi. 10), *Mahākassapa-sutta* (Samy. Mahā. ii. 11. 13), *Mahamaṅgala* (Khuddakapāṭha and Suttanipāta), *Jātakanidāna* etc. In this connection we may as well note that Nanjio in his Catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka often makes a remark about texts whether it agrees with Tibetan or whether it is lacking in Tibetan. In connection with all the four Āgamas of the Sarvāstivādins, (Nanjio, 542-545) which are close parallels of the four Pali Nikāyas, Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta and Aṅguttara, Nanjio, perhaps on the authority of an older catalogue like K'-yuen-lu (A Comparative Catalogue of Buddhist works collected in the K'-yuen period, A. D. 1264-94), makes the following remark "It agrees with Tibetan". So one may say that although the present available catalogues do not make any mention of Tibetan versions of these āgamas or Pali nikāyas, a further and closer examination may reveal the Tibetan counterparts. At any rate, as there is a Chinese record of the 13th century A. D. to that effect, one may conclude that such Tibetan counterparts did exist till the thirteenth century.

Restorations

The peculiarity of the Tibetan translations is that they are so close, word-for-word, literal translations, that with the help of such translations of texts and commentaries, it often becomes possible to restore the original Sanskrit text. Of course, there is still the possibility that of the numerous synonymous words used to express a certain sense or idea, one may not necessarily hit the right word. Such attempts to restore texts are found in Prof. P. L. Vaidya's '*Études sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥśataka*, chapitres VIII-XVI,' Paris, 1923; in Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya's '*Mahāyānavimśikā of Nāgārjuna*' and *Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva*, 1931—which last really developed out of the author's review on Prof. Vaidya's book; in *Śīlaparikathā* by Anantanath Basu.

(IHQ. 1931, pp 28-33); in *Nairātmyapariprocchā* by Sujitakumāra Mukhopādhyāya (1931); in *Diñnāga's Pramānasamuccaya* (1st chapter) by H. R. R. Aiyangar, Mysore, 1930; or in Pandit N. Aiyaswamy's *Madhyamakāvatāra* of Candrakīrti, *Madhyamakārthasamgraha* of Bhāvaviveka, *Bhavasamkrāntisūtra* and *Ālambanaparīkṣā* and its *Vṛtti* by Diñnāga (Adyar Lib. 1942) etc. Of this last text, there is a French translation 'Examen de l'objet de la connaissance' by Susumu Yamaguchi and Henris Meyer, Paris. We may also mention Dr. V. Gokhle's 'Aksaraśataka' of Āryadeva, a *Madhyamaka* text where the Sanskrit original is attempted to be restored with the help of Tibetan and Chinese. *Hastavālaprakaraṇa*, a small work of Āryadeva, containing six verses is given by F. W. Thomas and H. Ui in JRAS 1918, pp 267-310, with the Tibetan and Chinese versions. Prof. Etienne Lamote, a pupil of the late Prof. Poussin, presents to us a critical text of the Tibetan translation of *Mahāyānasamgraha*, with Yuan Chwang's Chinese translation and his own annotated French translation. The same scholar has also given us, after the Tibetan and Chinese versions, *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* (Bruges, 1936) with the translation of the 17th chapter of *Madhyamakavṛtti* in an appendix. E. Obermiller's translation of a work of Ārya Maitreya: 'the Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation' with a commentary by Ārya Asaṅga is a manual on Buddhist monism. Constanty Régamey edited *Bhadramāyākāra vyākaraṇa* (Warsaw, 1938), one of the minor *Ratnakūṭasūtras*, where the Buddha is represented as the greatest of the magicians. Tibetan translations of Vasubandhu's *kārikā* of *Abhidharmakośa* and his *bhāṣya* on the same (B. B. 1917-30), of *Daśabhūmika* and *Laṅkāvatāra sūtras*, of the works on logic: *Nyāyamuka*, *Nyāyapraveśa*, *Nyāyabindu* and *Nyāyabindutīkā*, of *Samanantarasiddhi* of Dharmottara with Vintadeva's commentary (B. B. XIX), of *Udānavarga* by Dharmatrāta (edited by Hermann Beckh, Berlin, 1911) are some of the important works which are highly valuable to Sanskritists.

Fresh Discoveries

As mentioned above, Tibetan Tripiṭaka is a vast store which needs closer examination and which will reveal the existence of several works not yet enlisted in the catalogues. The great scholar and social worker, Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, visited the

libraries of several monasteries in Tibet, during his frequent sojourns and discovered a number of new works, some of which proved to be the Sanskrit works considered to be lost to Sanskrit language. He discovered copies of *Vādanyāya*, *Vārtikālaṃkāra* and *Pramāṇavārtika*, the first two of which have appeared as publications of the Mahābodhisabhā, Sarnath, and the last was being published in the Journal of the BORS (App. to Vol.XXIV). Another discovery and identification of a Tibetan fragment of the *Vimuttimaggā*, corresponding to the third chapter of the work, and agreeing with the second chapter of the *Visuddhimaggā*, was made by the present writer and he read papers on the same at the seventh, and tenth Oriental Conferences, held respectively at Baroda and Hyderabad in 1933 and 1941. His work on the same is continuing as is indicated by his article on ' Washington Manuscript ' in the Annals of the BORI, Poona, vol. XXII 1941, where he has shown the shorter version of the text to be the truer one.

IV. CHINESE

Now I must turn to Chinese Buddhist studies. Chinese is one of the most difficult languages and it requires continuous study for years together before one can hope to get a thorough mastery over it. Most of the Indian works translated into Chinese are Buddhist. There are translations of only two non-Buddhist texts, one of which is *Daśapadārthī*, (Nanjio, 1245) a manual of *Vaiśeṣika* Philosophy, translated by Yuan Chwang (in 648 A. D.). Prof. H. Ui has given us an edition of the Chinese text along with an English translation of the Chinese translation of the same, with the help of F. W. Thomas (Oriental Translation Fund, vol. 24, 1917). The other is *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*. Prof. Takakusu has given a French Translation (Nanjio, 1300) of the Chinese version of the same by *Paramārtha*. For the *sūtras* contained in the Chinese *Tripitaka*, we have, in addition to Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese *Tripitaka* (1883), Prof. J. Takakusu's Catalogue of *Tāisho Tripitaka* (Tokyo, 1929) which contains 20 catalogues published till now. This is very useful in tracing Buddhist texts, either from the name of the author or from the title of the text, in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese or Japanese. This same has also been reprinted with numerous additions in honour of the first Anniversary of S. Mochizuki

(Bib. Bouddhique). Further we have now Prof. P. C. Bagchi's 'Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine' vol. I 1927. The second volume also has now been reported to be out. Another Catalogue has been issued (Tokyo, 1931) as an 'Annexe' to the Hobogirin, an encyclopædic Dictionary of Buddhism. It gives a serial list of all the 2184 texts in the 55 volumes of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka edited by Prof. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe (1924-29). It gives (1) the index of the names and authors of the texts in Japanese * (transcribed into Roman characters), (2) the index according to the Chinese Radicals, and (3) the index, in Sanskrit and Pali, of the names of texts as well as of authors and translators. A chronological table on China is also appended. Another interesting book for Pali scholars is the 'Comparative Catalogue of the Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas' by Prof. Akanuma of Otani University (Nagoya, 1929). He has mentioned detailed comparisons of each of the Suttas in the Pali Nikāyas with the Chinese texts in the translations of the Āgamas and vice-versa with supplements and corrections.

Like the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, the Chinese Tripitaka also is a vast store and unlike the Tibetan translators, the Chinese translators—except the earlier ones—had an eye more to the sense than to the words. So, from the Chinese translations alone, it does not become easy to make restorations.

Translations from Pali

In this literature also there are several works, which may be considered as the Chinese translations or versions of Pali texts. Besides the Chinese Āgamas referred to above, there are Chinese texts corresponding to the Pali Dhammapada, Udāna, (Nanjio, 1353, 1365, 1439), Itivuttaka (Nanjio, 1321), a few stray Suttas corresponding to those in the Suttanipāta, especially to the Atthaka (Nanjio, 674) and the Pārāyana vaggas (See ' Katam Karanlyam ' in honour of M. Anesaki by his pupils, 1934, pp. 289-304; also JPTS 1907). There is the Chinese version of the

* There is also a Japanese Alphabetical Index of Nanjio's Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka with supplements and corrections, Tokyo, 1930, edited by Profs. Tokiwa, Ogiwara and Mino.

Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, closely agreeing with the Pali Vinaya. Prof. J. Takakusu has described (JPTS. 1905) the 'Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins' which may be compared with the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka of the Pali Tripitaka (see Introduction, p. ix of the Devanāgarī ed. of Dhammasaṅgaṇi by Profs. Bapat and Vadekar, Poona, 1940).

Among the non-canonical texts, also, may be mentioned Pali Milinda, which has a counterpart in the Chinese translations (Nanjio, 1358, Nos. 1670^a, 1670^b of Taisho ed.), which agree with only the first three divisions of the present Pali text. Prof. M. Nagai drew attention (JPTS 1919) of Pali scholars to the Chinese counterpart of Buddhaghosa's 'Visuddhimagga'. The present writer has worked out this problem of their interrelations in his 'Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga: A comparative study' (Poona, 1937) where he has given a detailed summary of the Chinese text 'Chie-t'o-tao-lun' (Vimuttimagga). There is another important non-canonical work San-Chie-phi-po-sā-lun (Nanjio, 1125) corresponding to the Samantapāsādikā. The writer of this paper is working on the comparative study of these two works and it is expected that the result will reveal several new points with regard to the mutual relation of these two books, as well as the several versions of the Samantapāsādikā before it reached its present voluminous size. At any rate the comparative study of these texts will go a long way to settle the textual history of the Pali work.

Translations from Sanskrit

But these Pali books are insignificantly smaller in number when compared with the Sanskrit texts having their translations in the Chinese Tripitaka. Not a few texts in Sanskrit are merely known by their names. The actual texts are irretrievably lost in India. But they are preserved in Chinese or Tibetan or both and hence the importance to Indian scholars of studying Chinese also. There are Chinese versions of the missing chapters of Āśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, of Dignāga's Nyāyamukha, of the seven Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivādins (Nanjio, 1273, 1275, 1276, 1281, 1282, 1277 or 1292 etc.) of Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, a restoration of the first part of which has been attempted by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana with the help of Wong Mow Lam, Editor

of Chinese Buddhist, (JBORS XIX 1933, 72 pages, & Vol. XX appendix), of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-śāstra* (O-phi-ta-mo-ko-sho-lun, Nanjio, 1267), of Nāgārjuna's *Mahāyānavimśikā* and of other books on logic like *Upāyahṛdaya* and *Tarkaśāstra* (by Tucci, GOS. No. 49). These fill in the gap of the missing treasures. And who would not like to have them at least in Chinese translations?

Central Asian Discoveries

Central Asian discoveries have revealed the existence of several Buddhist texts in Prakrit, Buddhist Sanskrit, Chinese, Soghdian, Kutchian, Uigurish, and Mongolian languages. A survey of these will land us into an endless ocean. And besides U. N. Ghoshal has given us an admirable survey of this vast field (Progress of Indic Studies, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, 1942). I shall barely mention only a few below—Khotanese *Jātakastava* (ed. by Sten Konow), Tun-huang manuscripts in Khotanese containing a fragment of a legend of Kaniska and of Āśvaghosa, fragments of *Ātānāṭika sūtra* (Leipzig, 1919,) of Kutchian texts, (*Udānavarga*, *Udānastotra*, *Udānālaṃkāra*) and *Karmavibhaṅga* by Sylvain Levi, Paris 1933, fragments of *Upāyakauśalya*, mentioned in the *Saddharmapundarika*, discovered in Khadlik, Turkish Turfan texts published by Dr. W. Bang, Berlin, 1934, Chinese Buddhist Texts in Tibetan writing edited by F. W. Thomas to whom we also owe a Buddhist Chinese text in Brāhmī script (ZDMG. 1937, p. 149), Soghdian *Vessantarajātaka* and Soghdian manuscripts preserved in the British Museum.

V. DICTIONARIES, GRAMMARS AND WORD-INTERPRETATIONS

The work of Pali scholars was considerably lightened by the publication of the Pali-English Dictionary by T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (1921-22). Though this dictionary has greatly removed the handicap that was keenly felt by Pali scholars, J. Charpentier in his review of the same in JRAS, 1923, pp. 455-57, points out that the etymological part is "such that it ought not to appear in any scholarly work". Articles on *abbhuta*, *abhiḥhālu*, *amacca*, *ābhassara*, *āloka*, *ucca*, *ussolhi* are, says he, amazing, to use a very moderate expression. A beginning

of another Dictionary, 'A Critical Pali Dictionary', continued from Trenckner's beginnings by Anderson and Smith, has been already made and nine parts appeared till 1938. The work has not completed even the first letter, *a*. The reprint of Jäschke's Tibetan-English Dictionary has been already referred to above. The publication of Dr. P. C. Bagchi's 'Deux Lexiques Sanskrit Chinois' 1929, and Hind vol. 1937, are of great interest to Chinese Buddhist scholars. Prof. Sunitikumara Chatterjee has described the importance of these two works by Li-yeu and I-tsing, respectively (NIA ii. pp. 741-47), in that they reveal the peculiarities of the Buddhist Sanskrit of the regions to the North-west of India and of the regions in Central Asia on the one hand and of the Gangetic plains in the Eastern India on the other. Li-yeu's Sanskrit was of the former type while that of I-tsing was of the latter. Obermiller's "Indices Verborum Tibetan-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-Tibetan," of the Nyāyabindu and the Nyāyabinduṭṭkā (B. B., 1928) and Rahder's Glossary of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese versions of the Daśa-bhūmikasūtra will be found very useful by students of Buddhism. A study of Tibetan and Chinese equivalents by Walter Simon, reprinted from 'Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalischen Sprachen' Bd. XXXII. Hft. 1, 1930, would be most welcome by students of Tibetan and Chinese. 'A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms' by W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous (London, 1937) will be considered as a good step in the direction of an ideal work to be expected from the co-operative efforts of several scholars. A step in that direction has been already taken by the organisers of the Hobogirin—an encyclopædic Dictionary after the Chinese and Japanese sources under the direction of Prof. Takakusu and Prof. Sylvain Lévi (1929 ff.). Friedrich Weller's Chinesische Dharmsaṅgraha (Leipzig, 1923) and Tokyo edition of the Mahāvīyutpatti (edited by Sakaki, 1926) with Sanskrit index will be found to be indispensable. A Devanāgarī edition of the Abhidhānappadīpikā was published by Muni Jinavijayaji (Poona, 1924). A Bengali edition of the same had also appeared in Calcutta. And the last but the most important work as a reference book is Malalasekera's Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (1937-38). The editor deserves our warmest

encomium for carrying out single-handed a work of this type. We can imagine what an enormous labour it must have involved for years together. It has tremendously helped workers in the field of Buddhist studies. Helmer Smith's edition of the *Saddaṇṭi*, 1928-29 ff. (excellent editions of which in Sinhalese and Burmese characters were already available), of which the index is yet to come, would also be welcomed by European workers in this field.

As regards word-study we may refer to a few articles such as those of E. H. Johnston (JRAS 1931. pp. 565-592), or of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Vol. IV. 1939), or on *skhīcañña* in NIA iii. 1-16. We may also add the following list which will be found to be interesting:—

Antaraghara	by Prof. P. V. Bapat	in NIA i. 81-82
Thīnamiddha	„ „	„ F. W. Thomas Commemoration Vol. pp. 4-18
Tādi	„ „	„ D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol. pp. 249-58.
Middha	„ Edgerton	„ NIA i. 607-10
Abhidhamma, Abhivīnaya,	Miss I. B. Horner	„ IHQ 1941, pp. 291-310
Paṇṇākāra	P. Thieme	„ ZDMG 1939, 129, 132.
Yatṭhi in Mahāvamsa	Narendranatha Law	„ IHQ 1931, p. 571.
Vardhamāna	E. H. Johnston	„ JRAS 1931, pp. 565-592, 1933, p. 690.
	Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy	„ Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Nf. iv. 1927-28, pp. 181-182.
Sobhanika	O. H. de A. Wijesekera	„ IHQ 1941, pp. 202 ff.
Akkheyya (Pali)	Dr. S. M. Katre	„ IHQ XI p. 199.

Bilanga-dutiya	Sylvain Lévi	in <i>Melanges Anesaki</i> pp. 84-95.
Syandanikā	"	" <i>Grierson Commemoration Vol.</i>

VI. LITERARY HISTORIES

Several new works have appeared by way of giving more information about Buddhist literature. On the lines of 'Pali Literature of Burma' (1909) by Mabel Bode, Dr. G. P. Malalasekera has given us 'Pali Literature of Ceylon' (1928). 'A History of Pali Literature' in two volumes (1933) by Dr. B. C. Law appeared and the author has given us there a detailed idea of the contents of the Pali Literature, both canonical and non-canonical. English Translation of Winternitz's History of Indian Literature, part ii, by Miss Shilavati Ketkar and Miss Kohn (1936), substantially revised by the Author, has considerably lightened the work of non-German-knowing Indian students. Tārānātha's 'History of Buddhism in India' is being given in its English garb, from its German translation by Schiefner, in *IHQ* 1928, 30, 31, etc., and the most interesting and highly valuable 'History of Buddhism' (Chos-hbyung) by the Tibetan writer, Bu-ston, has been translated by Obermiller and published in the 'Materialien zur Kunde der Buddhismus' by Prof. Walleser (1931-32). The very scholastic and the systematic handling by the editor has made the work highly useful for our knowledge of the Buddhist Sanskrit and Tibetan Literature. B. C. Law's 'Buddhist Studies', 'Studies in the Apadāna' (Bombay BRAS xiii. 23ff), 'Study of the Mahāvastu (with a supplement)', 1930, and his latest 'Ancient Tribes of India' (Bhandarkar Oriental Series, vol. IV, 1943) utilizing every available information on the subject, have all added to our knowledge. Dr. Nalinakasha Dutta has given us the account of the Beliefs of the Mahāsaṅghikas, Sarvāstivādins and Sammitiyas in *IHQ*. (1939, pp. 99-100 for instance). His article on Dhammasaṅgani (*IHQ* 1939, pp. 345-72) is worth a perusal, although his statements about the chronological relations of the different parts of the book are not acceptable. The present writer and Prof. R. D. Vadekar have put forth a contrary view as far as the Nikkhepakāṇḍa is concerned (Intro. to Dhs. pp. xv-xvi).

These last two Professors have, in their Introduction to their latest book on *Atthasālinī* (1942), pp. xxxiii-xxxv, raised the problem of the authorship of several commentaries that are ascribed to Buddhaghosa by tradition. This problem was mooted by Prof. D. Kosambi in his edition of the *Visuddhimagga* (Introd. xiv-xv) published in the *Bhāratīyavidyābhavana Series* already referred to above (p. 9). They have proved by various arguments that the tradition, of ascribing to Buddhaghosa all the commentaries that are not definitely assigned to Dhammapāla, cannot be accepted as reliable. They have shown (xxxiii-xxxv) that by a comparison of the present text of the *Vinaya-Atthakathā*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, with its Chinese version, it can be proved that the former seems to have gradually grown in size during several centuries and that there are irreconcilable references to one another in all these *Atthakathās* wrongly ascribed to Buddhaghosa.

VII. LITERARY PROBLEMS

There is also the problem of two Buddhaghosa's. In the *Atthasālinī*, introductory stanzas, the author says that he has been writing the book at the request of a Bhikkhu, Buddhaghosa by name (*Bhikkhunā Buddhaghosena sakkaccaṃ abhiyācito*). Prof. B. M. Barua (IC 1934, pp. 294-95) had pointed out the same fact about two Buddhaghosa's by referring to the *Nigamana-gāthā* of the *Vibhaṅga-Atthakathā*, *Sammoha-vinodanī*, (*yācito thitaguṇena yatinā—Buddhaghosena*). Another Buddhaghosa is credited with *Padyacūdāmaṇī*, a Sanskrit *Kāvya* (Madras Govt. Oriental Series, 1921).

Mrs. Rhys Davids adumbrated a new theory of the authorship of *Milindapañha*, that of one author editing the conversation between Milinda and Nāgasena in early days and adding subsequent portions at two different occasions. Winternitz is not prepared to accept this theory (*Hist. of Indian Lit.* pp. 619-20, part ii. of Engl. Trans.) but he sticks to his own view that the first three chapters form one part and all the rest are later and spurious additions. The absence of these later chapters in the Chinese version is certainly in favour of Winternitz. In this connection we may as well point out the work, giving a full bibliography on *Milinda*, by S. Behrsing in the *Bulletin of*

the School of Oriental Studies (1934, pp. 335-45ff). Ratilal Mehta has given us, on the authority of the Jātaka tales, 'A Political, Administrative, Economic, Social and Geographical Survey' which he calls 'Pre-Buddhist India' (1939), although it is open to grave doubts whether the picture given by the Jātakas can really be called pre-Buddhist. Perhaps they give no other picture than the one seen by the Buddhist monks on their way round the town while begging food. B. C. Law refers to different recensions of the Jātakas (JRAS 1938, pp. 241-51) — (i) one of 500 Jātakas as proved by Fa-hien's account (Legge's Travels of Fa-hien, p. 106), and by Cūlaniddesa (ii, p. 80); (ii) another of 547 Jātakas as presented in Siamese edition based on a tradition of the Mahāvihāra-Atthakathā and illustrated on the Ānanda pagoda in Burma; (iii) and a third one of 550 mentioned by Buddhaghosa and others, and illustrated in the Petleik pagoda, Pagan.

In Buddhist Sanskrit literature, there had appeared an interesting controversy since the publication by Luders (1926) of the Fragments of Kalpanāmandatikā. One set of scholars headed by Sylvain Lévi (JA. 1929, pp. 255-285) maintained that the Sūtrāṅkārā (the title accepted by the Chinese translation) was the original work of Āśvaghoṣa and that Drṣtānta-paṅkti or Drṣtāntamālyā was a later edition of the same. J. Przyluski, on the other hand, supported the advocates of the contrary theory and in his article on 'Āśvaghoṣa et la Kalpanāmandatikā' (BCLS of the Royal Academy of Belgium vol. XVI, pp. 425-34) maintains that Drṣtāntapaṅkti is the same as Kalpanāmandatikā of Kumāralāta, and that further in his very lucid survey of the history of Buddhist Sects 'Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika, and Sarvāstivādins' (IHQ. 1. 40, pp. 246-54) shows from the colophon of the work "Āryakumāralātāyaṁ Kalpanāmandatikā-(yāṁ nāma Drṣtānta)-paṅktyāṁ" that the work Kalpanāmandatikā was originally written by Kumāralāta, and that when he, an author of no great fame, was forgotten, it came to be ascribed to Āśvaghoṣa under the name Sūtrāṅkārā. Another problem of two works of the same name, Sūtrasamuccaya, is handled by Anukula Chandra Banerjee (IHQ 1941, pp. 121-46), who maintains that there were two works of

this name by Śāntideva and Nāgārjuna and there is the authority of Bu-ston for the same.

VIII. PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS

There have been several attempts to dive at the original teaching of the Buddha. Several scholars, as remarked at the beginning of the paper, have made an attempt to treat Buddhism with the background of the Upanisads and Hermann Oldenberg and J. Przyluski have dealt with the question in 'Die Lehre der Upanisaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus' (1915) and 'Buddhism et Upanisad' (BEFEO 1932), respectively. Dr. Maryla Falk in her 'Nairātmya and Karman' (IHQ 1940, pp. 647-82) and her latest 'Nāmarūpa and Dharmarūpa' (Calcutta Uni. Publication, 1942) has exhibited the same tendency. Prof. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya in his numerous short notes appearing in Journals does the same thing. In his 'Evolution of Vijñānavāda' (IHQ. 1934, pp. 1-11) he traces the origins to the Upanisads. Helmuth von Glasenapp has written (NIA i. 128 ff) on 'Buddhism in Kāthaka Upaniṣad.' Mrs. Rhys Davids, also, has turned to them and has found support from them to her new interpretation of the original teaching of the Buddha. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya in his 'Basic Conception of Buddhism' (Ādhārachandra Mukerjee Lectures, Cal. Uni., 1932) has made an attempt to show that the Buddha found out that the suffering could cease by the extinction of desire. Mrs. Rhys Davids was, with a religious missionary zeal, hammering out, in season and out of season—and what else would you say when she intruded her pet theories even while reviewing books of others?—that the present Pali texts, although they are the oldest of the available authorities on Buddhism, do not represent the original teaching of the Buddha, but that they are the later monkish attempts of re-editing the teachings of the Buddha. She was lately repeating the same thing in her numerous books and contributions to learned Journals. In 'Buddhism not originally a Negative Gospel' (Hibbert Journal, 1928), 'Śākya or Buddhist Origins' (1931), 'Growth of Not-Man in Buddhism' (IHQ 1928) etc. etc., she insisted that the Buddha could not have taught the denial of the soul—and that as a successful world-teacher how could he have taught this negative doctrine?—which is not likely to enthuse his followers with any new spirit. She enumerates as

many as eleven 'Nots'—things he will not have taught (NIA 1939-40, vol. ii, 183-189). She believes that in spite of the monkish editing, the present Pali texts, if subjected to historical and textual criticism, do reveal several, what she calls, 'left-ins', which give an idea of the original teaching of Śākya Buddha. She thinks that the priestly theory has degraded the sublime nature of man who, according to her interpretation of the teaching of the Buddha, was capable of progressing. With this definite theory firmly fixed in her mind, she tries to find the 'left-ins' which would support her in her imagined original teaching of the Buddha. And she reads, perhaps too much in passages, which may not ultimately have any philosophical significance. In her 'Overlooked Pali Sutta' (JRAS. 1933. pp. 329-334) she refers to a passage from Ang. Tikanipāta, No. 40. 'Tini ādhipateyyāni—attādhīpateyyam, lokādhīpateyyam, dhammādhīpateyyam—'. She finds here the negation of 'non-soul'-theory, which she considers to have been fabricated by the Buddhist monks in opposition to the original teaching of the Śākya Buddha. Though she is supported in her new theory by her colleague and successor Miss. I. B. Horner, the author of 'Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected' (1936), and by Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy in his 'Re-interpretation of Buddhism' (NIA ii. 575-590), Mr. E. H. Johnston in a review of her recent book ('recent' in the sense that it was revised) aptly remarks (JRAS 1937, pp. 505-507) that the author's view has substantially changed and that few scholars agree with her conclusions which she seems to arrive at by intuition. She finds different strata in a sutta where other competent authorities see none. Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, on the other hand, observes in his article 'The Ātman in the Pali Canon' (IC ii. 823-24) that it is not beyond the range of possibilities that a few Buddhist philosophers of the early ages admitted a transcendent Ātman. There are a few documents which may be interpreted to support the theory, but there are many which deny it. Hence he makes a very cautious remark: "We do not sin by imprudence when we consider as relatively late the canonical tenet of the negation of a self" (ibid. p. 822). Dr. Maryla Falk tries to explain, with the help

of the Upanisadic interpretations, what to several appears to be the antinomy of Nairātmya and Karman (IHQ 1940, pp. 647-682). Theodore Stecherbatsky, however, is quite firm and while enumerating the different traits of Buddhism, puts the 'denial of soul' as the very first (Doctrine of the Buddha, BSOS VI, pp. 867-96).

Over another riddle of Buddhism, several authors have exercised their brains. B. C. Law has given 'Aspects of Nirvāṇa' (IC ii 327-48), while Mrs. Rhys Davids in 'Historical Aspects of Nirvāṇa' (IC. ii. 587-47) has found an early predecessor, *attha*, of Nirvāṇa. Louis de la Vallée Poussin has written a special monograph on the same (1925), in reviewing which Prof. Stecherbatsky was prompted to write what ultimately grew into 'The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa' (Leningrad, 1927), accompanied by his masterly introduction treating, in a historical manner, the interpretation of that highest ideal of the Buddhists in various schools, such as Vaibhāsikas and the like, Sautrāntikas, Madhyamakas and Yogācāras. In spite of this marvelous treatment, one cannot help remarking that as in his 'Central Conception of Buddhism' (Petrograd 1923), here, too, the author does not show any signs of having used, at any rate fully, the Pali sources of information on the subject. But who can attain perfection in the treatment of that which has been universally recognised and acclaimed as 'indescribable, beyond the comprehension of worldly men' ? Has it not been said :—

Bhavarāgaparetehi bhavasotānusārihi
māradheyyānupannehi nāyaṃ dhammo su-sambudho
(Sn. 764).

" This Dhamma (Nibbāna) is not easy to be understood by people who are attached to worldly life, who are moving with the worldly stream and who are (still) within the sphere of Māra (the Evil Spirit). "

IX. CONCLUSION

But we must stop. We cannot expect to exhaust the various aspects of Buddhism. There is a relieving feature, noted in recent days, of the bright prospect of a better understanding of Buddhism. Societies like the Mahābodhi Society of Calcutta, of Saranath, and the Buddha Society of Bombay have sprung up.

Interest in Buddhist studies is being increasingly taken by Indian Universities. The Calcutta University is, by far, the leading University in this field. Vishvabharati University and its newly-started branch of Chinese studies, carried under the auspices of Cheen Bhavan, have great possibilities. Though the Bombay University could not do much in this field having no research Department connected with this branch of studies, its constituent colleges like the St. Xaviers College, Bombay, the College, Baroda, and the Fergusson College, Poona, have been doing the work of Buddhist studies by maintaining the Department of Pali. Thanks are particularly due to the lifemember-conductors of the Fergusson College, for being the first in the field of providing for the teaching of Pali and all credit of Buddhist studies in the Bombay University really goes to that College, which has supplied teachers to the other two Colleges, where they are carrying on the studies, each in his own way. The Benares Hindu University has recently introduced the subject of Pali and Buddhist studies, Patna and Allahabad have probably some arrangements. But other universities are sadly lagging behind, perhaps because they have not yet realised the importance and far-reaching character of the subject. Buddhist studies would no longer be capably handled by scholars who have attainments merely in the sphere of Sanskrit and Pali, but soon the knowledge of Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese will be considered as a *sine qua non* and Indian scholars will have to gird their loins to pick up their legitimate share in these studies. The Chinese and Indian Governments have decided upon an exchange of scholars and we are glad to learn that Rev. Bhikkhu Jagadisha Kashyapa has been requested by Chungking Government to organise the Dept. of Pali studies at Chungking. Let us hope that the India Government also will soon request some competent Chinese scholar to organise the study of Chinese in some *central* University in India, and thus give an impetus to the Chinese Buddhist studies in India.*

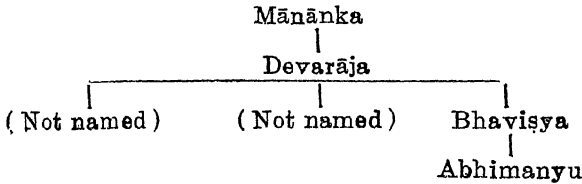
* The writer of this paper acknowledges a debt of gratitude to Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta and Dr B. C. Law, who supplied to him several details of publications in Ceylon and Bengal, respectively; and to the editors of the 'Bibliographie Bouddhique' (1930-1937), which has been most useful to him in preparing this paper.

THE RĀSTRAKŪṬAS OF MĀNAPURA

BY

V. V. MIRASHI, Nagpur

In the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 88ff., Pandit Bhagwanlal first published the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of the Rāstrakūṭa king Abhimanyu which gives the following genealogy :—

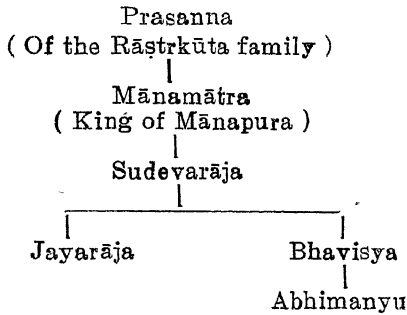


The plates were issued by Abhimanyu while residing at Mānapura and record the grant of the village Uṇḍikavāṭikā to a recluse named Jaṭabhāra in honour of the god Dakṣiṇa-Śiva of Pethapaṅgaraka. The original find-spot of the copper-plates has not been recorded. They were from the collection of Dr. Bhau Daji and were presumably found somewhere in the Bombay Presidency. In the absence of definite information about the provenance of this grant, there was no clue available for the identification of the localities mentioned in it, but Dr. Fleet discussed the matter at great length in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, pp. 509-14 and suggested that the god Dakṣiṇa-Śiva might be the god of the great Śaiva shrine in the Mahādeva Hills of the Hoshangabad District of the Central Provinces. He proposed to identify Pethapaṅgaraka with Pagāra, the head-quarters of the Zamindāri of the same name, about 4 miles to the north of Pachmarhi, and Uṇḍikavāṭikā¹ with Oontia, 30 miles north-northwest from Mahādeva Hills. He was not able to suggest any satisfactory identification of Mānapura, though he had previously thought that it might be identical with

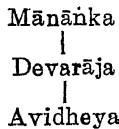
¹ Dr. Fleet thought that the correct name of the place was Uṇṭika-vāṭikā which he thought exactly corresponded to Oontia.

Mānapura in Malwa, about 12 miles southwest of Mhow.¹ Another identification proposed of the place is that it is Mānapura near Bandhogarh in Rewa.² This royal family is therefore supposed to have ruled in the western part of the Central Provinces.

Subsequently in his *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 77 ff., Dr. Dubreuil, accepting the suggestion first made by Dr. Sten Konow,³ that Mānānka may be identical with Mānamātra and Sudevarāja with Devarāja, mentioned in several plates of the so-called kings of Śarabhapura, gave the following genealogy:—



In the *Mysore Archaeological Survey Report* for 1929, pp. 197 ff. and Plate XIX, Dr. M. H. Krishna has edited with facsimiles a set of copper-plates (called Pāṇḍarangapalli plates) discovered in the possession of the Patel of a village near Kolhapur. It gives the following genealogy:—



Dr. Krishna identified Avidheya as the third son of Devarāja who had not been named in the Undikavāṭikā plates. He then put forward the hypothesis that Devarāja (or Sudevarāja), the son of Mānāṅka (or Mānamātra) had three sons, Avidheya, Jayarāja and Bhaviṣya among whom was divided the extensive

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 223ff.

² Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 77.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 172.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire of the Deccan which extended from the Mahānadi and the Tāpti to the Bhīmā, comprising three Mahārāṣṭras. Jayarāja, was ruling over the eastern part on the banks of the Mahānadi, Bhavisya over Northern Mahārāṣṭra and C. P. and Avidheya over Southern Mahārāṣṭra extending to the banks of the Bhīmā. Kṛṣṇa, the son of Indra, and Govinda who are mentioned as defeated by the Cālukya Jayasīṃha Pulakeśin II of Badāmi belonged to this family, after overthrowing which Pulakeśin II became the lord of three Mahārāṣṭras.¹

In the last number of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 ff.) Dr. Altekar has shown that this theory of the existence of an extensive Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire in the sixth century A. D. is untenable, because, firstly, most of these kings do not describe themselves as Rāṣṭrakūṭas and secondly, there were other kings such as the Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kalacuris and the Kadambas who were ruling over the major part of Mahārāṣṭra and not the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

I agree with the main conclusion of Dr. Altekar that there was no extensive Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire in the Deccan in the sixth century A. D. before the rise of the Cālukyas of Badāmi. The theory of the existence of such an Empire is based on the identification of Mānamātra with Mānāṅka and Devarāja with Sudevarāja. This foundation is very weak; for firstly, there is no convincing reason for these changes in the personal names of these kings. Secondly, Jayarāja was an uncle of Sudevarāja, not his son.² Thirdly, there is nothing common in the characters and seals of the descendants of Mānāṅka and those of the descendants of Mānamātra. The charters of the former are inscribed in what Dr. Bühler calls the western variety of the southern alphabet, while those of the latter are incised in the so-called box-headed characters of Central India. The seals of the charters of the former have the figure of a lion facing the proper right,

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 17, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 9

² From the seal of the Āraṅ plates (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 193,) it is clear that Jayarāja was a son of Prasanna (or Prasannamātra) and therefore an uncle of Sudevarāja, not his son. The mistake has long remained uncorrected. For the genealogy of the kings of Śarabhapura see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII, p. 16.

while those of the latter have the figure of standing Lakṣmī with an elephant on either side pouring water on her. Mānamātra therefore belonged to an altogether different dynasty – the so-called dynasty of Śarabhapura¹ – which was ruling over the Bilaspur and Raipur Districts of the Central Provinces.

There is however no reason to doubt the identification of Mānānka and Devarāja of the Undikavāṭikā plates with the homonymous princes mentioned in the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates. Both these charters begin the genealogy with Mānānka and describe Devarāja as his son. The description of Devarāja that he was like the lord of gods (*i. e.*, Indra) occurs also in both.² Secondly, both the grants are inscribed in similar characters which were current in Mahārāṣṭra at least from the 5th to the 8th century A. D. Thirdly, the seals of both contain the figure of a lion facing the proper right. These agreements plainly indicate that the two families came of the same stock. One of them calls itself Rāṣṭrakūṭa, while the other is silent about its family name. This does not however present an insuperable difficulty as there are several ancient charters in which the names of royal families are not mentioned.³ I do not therefore agree with Dr. Altekar when he says that there is no conclusive proof that the king Avidheya of Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates and Abhimanyu of the Undikavāṭikā plates were the descendants of Mānānka and his son Devarāja.⁴

The next question is – ‘Were these families ruling over different regions – Avidheya over Southern Mahārāṣṭra and Bhaviṣya over Northern Mahārāṣṭra or at least Hoshangabad District of the Central Provinces?’ To answer this question we must carefully consider the contents of the two records viz., the

¹ Recently a set of plates of Narendra, the son of Śarabha, the founder of the dynasty has been found at Pipardulā in the Raipur District. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139ff.

² Cf. ‘Devarājaḥ sutas=tasya deva-rāja iv=āśritān | cakār=āsama-sampattīn’ etc. l. 5 of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates and ‘Tasya vighraha-vān=iva deva-rāja(jo) Devarāja iti sūnuḥ’ in ll. 3-4 of the Undikavāṭikā plates.

³ See for instance the charters of the so-called kings of Śarabhapura.

⁴ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXIV, p. 153.

Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant of Avidheya and the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu. Of these, the former is not in a good state of preservation, many *akṣaras* here and there having become illegible. Besides, it is written or engraved somewhat carelessly as several strokes are incompletely formed, which makes the task of decipherment very difficult. Still, even in its present condition it is capable of giving very valuable information if deciphered with care. I confine myself here to the readings of a few expressions of historical importance in this grant. The original plates being inaccessible to me, I have used the facsimiles published in the *Mysore Arch. Surv. Rep.* for 1929, Pl. XIX. In the first two lines I read '(1.1) Om svasti [1*] [Vāsavā?] dhivāsakā[t*] sa-Vida[r*] bha-Āśmaka-vijetā Mānānka-nṛpatiḥ (1.2) śrīmat-Kuntalānām praśāsītā...' It will be noticed that my reading gives a better sense. It shows that in accordance with the usual practice observed in copper-plate charters, the present charter also opens with the mention of the place of issue. Unfortunately the name of this place cannot be read with confidence.² Next the king Mānānka is described as the ruler of the glorious Kuntala country, and the conqueror of Āśmaka together with Vidarbha. This clearly shows that Mānānka was ruling over Kuntala which in ancient times comprised roughly the Southern Maratha Country south of the Kṛṣṇā and the Kanarese districts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies.³ In later times the northern limit of Kuntala stretched even up to the Godāvarī in the north, for the *Udayasundarikathā* mentions Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan on the Godāvarī) as the capital of Kuntala.⁴ The findspot of the

¹ The published text is '(1.1) Svasti. Vasudhādhībathī raṅga Vidarbha-Āśmaka-vijetā Mānānka-nṛpatiḥ (1.2) Śrī-Sātkunta dharā naḥ pra-śāsītā.' My reading will show that there is no reference here to Mānānka's victory over Aṅga.

² If the intended reading is *Vāsaṭ-adhivāsakāt* Vāsaṭa may be identical with the hill-fort of Vāsaṭa in Jāvali in the Sātārā District.

³ That Kuntala comprised the valley of the Kṛṣṇavarṇā (i.e., the Kṛṣṇā) is shown by the play on words in the following verse from the Nilgund plates of Vikramāditya VI, 'vikhyāta-kṛṣṇavarṇe taila-sneh-opalav(b)ha-saralavte | Kuntala-viṣaye nitarām virājate Mallik-āmodaḥ'. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 153.

⁴ *Udayasundarikathā* (Gaikwad's Or. Series,) pp. 21 and 83.

Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli plates was thus included in the Kuntala country. Mānāṅka was plainly ruling over what we now call the Southern Maratha Country. From there he raided Āsmaka which lay in the valley of the Godāvarī, and Vidarbha which comprised modern Berar and the Marāṭhī speaking districts of the Central Provinces. Lines 17-19 give the particulars of the donated village, which I read as follows - 'mātāpitrōr=ātmanāś=ca punya-yaśo-bhivṛddhaye [Mahādeva]gireḥ pūrvvata[ḥ*] Ane[nadī]kūl[e] . Kāmyaka-Jā[va]lā[vāṭī]kā-sahitā Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli pratipādit=etya-.'¹ These lines state that Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli which was donated together with the hamlets of Kāmyaka and Jāvala lay on the bank of the Ane river to the east of the Mahādeva hill. I identify the river the Ane with the Yennā (also called Veṇā) which being one of the chief feeders of the Kṛspā rises on the Mahābaleśvara plateau and falls into a valley to the east of the Mahābaleśvara hill in the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency.² It is noteworthy that the river flows through Jāvali which is one of the hamlets mentioned in the grant. Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli must have been situated in the vicinity of Jāvalī. Mahādevagiri (if the reading is correct)³ is of course the Mahābaleśvara hill, the summer resort of the Bombay Government. These identifications show that Avidheya was ruling over the Sātārā District and the adjoining territory. Finally, in lines 28-29 I read⁴ 'likhitāñ=c=edañ rājya-samva-

¹ The published reading is (l. 17) '-m āsapiṇḍād-ātmanāḥ prajāyaśo-bhivṛddhaye Mahādeva- (l. 18) gireḥ pūrvatā Anevarī Cāla Kandaka Duddapalli-sahitā (l. 19) Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli pratipāditetya-'.
² *Sātārā District Gazetteer*, p. 14.

³ The name of the hill is not clear on the plate as remarked by Dr. Krishna. There is also a range of hills called Mahādeva hills, which stretches east and southeast across the whole breadth of the Sātārā District, but it is not likely to be intended here as it lies to the east of the Ane or Yennā river.

⁴ The published reading is -' (l. 28) likhitāñ c=edañ rājyakara varise soḍaśe Bhādrapade Kārtikasya ba- (l. 29) hula Pañcamyām rājānujātena Devadattena Paṇḍarādriśena.' At the end of l. 24 there are numerical symbols denoting 10 and 5 which have not been noticed before. There are exactly like those used in the Sarsavṇī plates of Buddharāja (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 294ff. and Pl.) the Saṅkheḍā grants of Dadda II (*ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 37ff. and Pl.) and several other records of the 6th and 7th centuries A. D.

[tsa]re pañcadaśe Bhādrapade Kārttikasya bahula pañcamyām rāj-ānujñātena Devadattena [1*] Sam 10 (+) 5, [Kārtika] ba 5'. It will be noticed that according to my reading the charter was issued in the 15th (not 16th) regnal year, on the 5th *tithi* of Kārttika in the (Jovian) year Bhādrapada. This does not of course help us in ascertaining definitely the date of this grant as the details do not admit of verification.

Let us next see if Abhimanyu, the son of Bhaviśya, was ruling over a different region. His Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant was made while he was residing at Mānapura. This was evidently the royal capital and was probably founded by Mānāṅka, the progenitor of the dynasty. We need not search for this place so far north as Malwa or the Rewa State. It is probably identical with Māṇ, the chief place of Māṇ sub-division of the Sātārā District through which flows the Māṅgaṅgā, a tributary of the Bhīmā. As for the temple of Dakṣiṇa-Śiva in honour of which the grant was made, there are several such temples on the summits of hills in the Sātārā District, but the most celebrated of them is that of Mahābaleśvara where the Kṛsnā takes its rise. There is of course now no place in the neighbourhood of the name of Pethapangaraka.¹ Uṇḍikavāṭikā will have to be searched for in the vicinity of Mahābaleśvara.²

These identifications make it plain that both these grants belong to the same part of the country, *viz.*, the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency. We must therefore suppose that Bhaviśya was a younger son of Devarāja and succeeded Avidheya who seems to have died without leaving a son.

Another set of copper-plates found at Sisodrā in the Portuguese territory of Goa may have belonged to this family.³ The charter opens with the expression 'Śrī-vijaya-Candrapurād Gominām Devarāja-vacanāt' which is taken to mean that the order was addressed by (king) Devarāja of the Gōmins

¹ There is a place named Pāngri in the Bārsi *tāluka* of the adjoining Sholapur District, but it is not known if there was, in ancient times, a famous temple of Śiva there.

² There is one Udavnēḍi, about 28 miles south-west of Paṇḍharpur and about 4 miles south of the Māṇ river which may represent ancient Uṇḍikavāṭikā.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143ff.

from the prosperous Candrapura. This would perhaps show that Devarāja belonged to a different dynasty of the Gomin. No such dynasty is however known from any source. Perhaps *Gominām* is to be construed with *Śrī-vijaya-Candrapurāt* and means 'from the prosperous Candrapura of the Gomin'.¹ Another possible explanation is that the family was known as Gomin in early days and only in the time of Abhimanyu it assumed for the first time the name of Rāṣṭrakūṭa.² It is noteworthy that the usual comparison of Devarāja with Indra, the lord of gods, occurs in this record also,³ which proves the identity of this Devarāja.⁴ If the identifications of the localities proposed by the editor of this charter are correct, Devarāja may have extended his sway to South Konkan.

When did this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family flourish? Mr. Krishnamacharu who has edited the Sisodrā plates thinks that the characters of that grant resemble somewhat the script of the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman. He has also drawn attention to certain Prakrit expressions which occur in this grant. He refers it to about the fourth century A. D., but if this Devarāja was identical with the son of Mānānka, he may have flourished a little later. On palaeographic grounds the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli and Uṇḍikavāṭikā grants have been referred to the 5th century A.D.⁵ The use of the Jovian year in recording the date of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli plates also points in the same direction; for these years were not generally cited in the south after the 5th century A. D.⁶ Unfortunately all these grants are either undated or are dated in regnal years. They

¹ Is Gomin connected with Goa?

² Gomin denotes 'venerable' Cf. 'Gomin pūjye' in the *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* IV, 2, 144. From the Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 282) we know that an early name of the family was *Tuṅga*.

³ Cf. 'Deva-rāja-pratimasya Devarājasya=ājñayā likhitā paṭṭikā.' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 145.

⁴ No photograph of the seal of the Sisodrā plates has been published. The figure on it seems to be indistinct for Mr. Pisurlekar took it to be that of a peacock and Mr. Krishnamacharu that of 'a swan in a very conventional style'. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 144. Perhaps it is a couchant lion as on the seal of the Uṇḍikavāṭikā plates.

⁵ *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 88 and *M. A. S. R.* for 1929, p. 204.

⁶ They are found used in some early records of the Kadambas, see e. g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 35-36.

consequently afford no help in definitely fixing the period of their rule. We shall not however be wrong, I think, if we suppose that these Rāstrakūṭas were contemporaries of the Traikūṭakas who were ruling over North Konkan, Gujerat and North Mahārāstra and of the Vākātakas who held Vidarbha during the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. They were probably known in their days as *Kuntaleśas* or lords of Kuntala; for as seen above, Mānāṅka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as the ruler of Kuntala. The records of the Vākātakas contain occasional references either to their clashes or to their matrimonial alliances with the kings of Kuntala. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta, for instance, mentions that Vindhyaśena (or Vindhyaśakti II as he is called in the Bāsim plates) of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas defeated the lord of Kuntala.¹ As the kingdom of these Early Rāstrakūṭas of Mānapura was conterminous with that of the Vākātakas of Vatsagulma, this victory of Vindhyaśena must have been gained over these Rāstrakūṭas. Mānāṅka, on the other hand, claims to have conquered Vidarbha.² These references may be to the same indecisive battle or they may be to different expeditions. In any case, in view of what has been stated above, it may not be wrong to suppose that Mānāṅka was a contemporary of Vindhyaśena (or Vindhyaśakti II) who, as I have shown elsewhere, flourished about A. D. 400. The Bālāghaṭ plates of Prthiviśeṇa II of the Pravarapura branch state that Prthiviśeṇa II's father Narendrasena married Ajjhitabhattārikā, the daughter of the lord of Kuntala.³ This princess also may have been of the Rāstrakūṭa lineage. Finally, the aforementioned Ajanta cave inscription records a victory of Harisēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king, over the lord of Kuntala, which also must have been won over this very family. These references to Kuntaleśas were till now understood as pointing to the Kadambas of Vanavāsi, but the country of the Kadambas was not conterminous with that of

¹ *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. XIV), p. 4.

² See l. 1 of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.

the Vākātakas as no records of the Kadambas have been found in southern Mahārāstra. It seems best therefore to identify the Kuntaleśas mentioned in Vākāṭaka records with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.

From certain passages in the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kālidāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara,¹ the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*² and the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa*³ of Bhoja and the *Aucityavicāracarcā*⁴ of Ksemendra it seems that the famous Gupta king Candragupta II-Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa as an ambassador to the court of a lord of Kuntala. Kālidāsa was not at first well received there, but he gradually gained Kuntaleśa's favour and stayed at his court for some time. When he returned, he reported to Vikramāditya that the lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him⁵ (i. e., on Vikramāditya). This Kuntaleśa has been taken to be the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, but this view does not now appear to be correct. Gupta influence was, no doubt, predominant at the Vākāṭaka court during the reign of Pravarasena II, but the Vākātakas do not call themselves Kuntaleśas and their rule does not seem to have extended to the Kuntala country though some of them are known to have raided it. This Kuntaleśa may have been an early member of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Mānapura, perhaps Devarāja whom we have placed in the period A. D. 400-25. This influence of Candragupta II at the court of two such important royal families of the south as the Vākātakas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas corroborates the statement in the Meherauli pillar inscription that even then (i. e., after the death of Candra or Candragupta II) the southern ocean was perfumed by the breezes of his prowess.⁶

¹ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series) second ed. pp. 61-62.

² *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Chapters XXII-XXIV, Introd. p. xxii.

³ Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., p. 168.

⁴ *Kāvya-mālā*, Guccā I, Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., pp. 139-40.

⁵ Kālidāsa is said to have reported to Vikramāditya पिबति मधुसुगन्धी-न्यानानि प्रियाणां त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः। to which the latter replied पिबतु मधुसुगन्धीन्यानानि प्रियाणां मयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

⁶ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 141.

Harisena's raid on Kuntala does not appear to have resulted in the extermination of this family. Hariṣeṇa may have contented himself with exacting a tribute from it as he appears to have done in the case of some others such as the Traikūtakas; for we know of some other rulers of South Mahārāṣṭra who also probably belonged to this dynasty. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dejja-Mahārāja, for instance, of whose reign a copper-plate inscription was discovered at Gokāk in the Belgaum District of the Bombay Presidency, may have belonged to this very family.¹ The record was issued when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is shown to correspond to A. D. 532-33. Dejja-Mahārāja may therefore have been a descendant of Bhaviṣya. Again, some years ago Mr. Y. R. Gupte drew attention to a copper-plate charter of Mādhavavarman which was found at Khānāpur in the Sātārā District.² It records the grant, by Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, of the village Reṭṭuraka which lay to the south-east of Kṛṣṇavennā, i. e., the Kṛṣṇā. As Mr. Gupte has shown, this village is Reṭare Budruk for it occupies the same position as stated in the grant and the boundary villages also can be identified in its vicinity. The grant is not dated and as the first plate of it is missing, the lineage of Mādhavavarman remains unknown. Mr. Gupte refers the grant on palaeographical grounds to the 5th or 6th century A. D. It is not therefore unlikely that this Mādhavavarman too belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānapura.

Some records of the later Cālukyas state that Jayasīṃha of the Early Cālukya dynasty of Badāmi defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa.³ As Dr. Altekar has pointed out, this statement occurs in very late records composed more than five centuries after the event. So one cannot be sure that these kings actually reigned in the 6th century A. D. But Govinda who invaded with his troop of elephants the territory to the north of the Bhīmarathī (i. e., the Bhīmā, a tributary of the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Altekar for this reference.

² *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.* (N. S.), Vol. IV, p. 89; *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃśodhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 17.

Kṛṣṇa) at the time of the accession of Pulakeśin II,¹ may have belonged to this family as already conjectured by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar.² This king could not however have been the great-grandfather of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I as supposed by Dr. Bhandarkar, for the interval between these two kings is too large to be covered by three generations.

The Aihole inscription states that this Govinda immediately obtained a reward for the services he rendered to Pulakeśin II. Ravikīrti is unfortunately not explicit on this matter, but he undoubtedly implies that Govinda was won over by Pulakeśin II and induced to turn back. The very fact that Pulakeśin II thought it wise to adopt conciliatory measures in dealing with him shows that he was a powerful foe. His descendants do not, however, seem to have held Southern Mahārāṣṭra for a long time; for Pulakeśin soon annexed both Northern and Southern Mahāsāṣṭras and extended the northern limit of his Empire to the bank of the Narmadā. That he ousted the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from Southern Mahārāṣṭra is shown by the Sātārā plates of his brother Viṣṇuvardhana which record the grant of a village on the southern bank of the Bhīmā.³

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas then appear to have moved to Berar where they founded a principality with Acalapura as their capital. The Tivarkheḍ plates of Nannarāja show that the family was ruling in Berar in A. D. 631.⁴ They give the following genealogy—Durgarāja, his son Govindarāja, his son Svāmīkarāja and his son Nannarāja. Allowing twenty years to each generation, Dr. Altekar assigns the following approximate dates to them—Durgarāja A. D. 570-590; Govindarāja A. D. 590-610; Svāmīkarāja A. D. 610-630; and Nannarāja A. D. 631 onwards.⁵ It will thus be seen that Govindarāja was a senior contemporary of Pulakeśin II and may therefore be identical with the king Govinda who invaded the territory to the north of the Bhīmā, at the time of Pulakeśin II's accession. When Pulakeśin later on

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

² *Early History of the Deccan* (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III) p. 170.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 303 ff.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff.

⁵ The date of the Multāi plates of this king is suspicious.

defeated the Kaṭaccuri (or Kalacuri) Buddharāja and annexed Mahārāṣṭra including Vidarbha, Konkan, and Central and Southern Gujerat, he placed his trusted chiefs in charge of some of these countries. We know, for instance, that he gave southern Gujerat to the Sendraka chief Allasakti who was previously ruling in Karnāṭaka.¹ He may similarly have placed Svāmīkarāja, the son of Govindarāja, in charge of Berar.

We find some indication of this succession in the records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Acalapura. It is well-known that in ancient times though the ruling families changed, the Secretariat often remained unchanged. Consequently, officers and clerks charged with the drafting of copper-plate charters occasionally drew upon previous records for the eulogistic and formal portions of the grants of a new dynasty. We find this illustrated by the records of the Traikūṭakas, Kalacuris and Gurjaras who succeeded one another in Gujerat.² The same is noticed in the records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Acalapura also. Before the advent of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Berar was included in the Kalacuri Empire which extended from Malwa in the north to the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in the south. The silver coins of the Kalacuri Kṛṣṇarāja have been found in the Amraoti District of Berar and the Betul District of the Central Provinces. It is well-known that the draft of the eulogistic portion in the grants of the Early Kalacuris was stereotyped. As in the grants of the Maitrakas, the *praśasti* of every king was fixed once for all and the same was repeated in all charters issued thereafter. It is worthy of note that the drafters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants have borrowed two expressions which are known to occur *only* in the eulogy of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.

² For instance, the passage अस्मद्वंश्यराजमिरन्यैश्च विभावानुभावानुवद्धानाद्युर्वियोगा-
नगतकुणांश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानञ्च गुणवतमवदातमपदानमिति प्रमाणीकृत्य शाशिकरुचिं
चिराय यशश्चिचीदुमिरयं दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च occurs with slight changes in the
records of the Traikūṭaka Vyṁghrasena, Saṅgamasimha, the Kalacuri
Saṅkaragana and Buddharāja and the Gurjara Dadda II. Dr. Kielhorn also
has drawn attention to the similarities in the epithets used in describing
Kṛṣṇarāja in Kalacuri grants and those of Dadda II in the Gurjara grant
and inferred from them that the family of the Gurjaras rose to independence
only after the Kalacuris. Other instances of the same type can be easily
multiplied.

the Kalacuri Kṛṣṇarāja. One of these expressions occurs in the description of Svāmīkarāja in the Tivarkheḍ plates and the other in that of Nannarāja in the Multāi plates.¹ The mutilated form of the former of these expressions leaves no doubt that the drafters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records were the borrowers. This plainly indicates that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Svāmīkarāja and Nannarāja rose to power in Berar after the downfall of the Kalacuris. In view of the statement in the Aihole inscription that Pulakeśin was the lord of the three Mahārāṣṭras which undoubtedly included Vidarbha, the inference seems justifiable that Svāmīkarāja and his son Nannarāja were governing Berar only as feudatories of Pulakeśin II. The expression *prāpta-pāñcamahāśav(b)daḥ* which occurs in the Tivarkheḍ plates of Nanna also indicates his feudatory rank.

It may however be objected that if Nannarāja was a feudatory of the Cālukyas, it is strange that he makes no mention of his lord paramount. The objection has not much force, because the Early Cālukyas of Badāmi do not seem to have insisted on their feudatories explicitly acknowledging their suzerainty in their records. We do not, for instance, find any Cālukya Emperor mentioned in the records of the Sendrakas of Gujerat and Khandesh who were undoubtedly feudatories of the Cālukyas. For the same reason the Gurjaras of north Gujerat also make no mention of their allegiance to any Cālukya suzerain though there is no doubt that they were Sāmantas of the Cālukyas.

The connection between the Rāṣṭrakūṭa families of Mānapura and Acalapura stated above may again be objected to as unlikely in view of the difference in their emblems. The former have the figure of a lion on their seals and the latter that of an eagle.

¹ The expression अात्मन्याहितशक्तिसंपन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलः which occurs in the eulogy of Svāmīkarāja in lines 2-4 of the Tivarkheḍ plates is, notwithstanding slight mutilation and inversion of the order of the epithets, identical with संपन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदाहितशक्तिसिद्धिः which is met with in Kalacuri records in the description of Kṛṣṇarāja. Again, the expression यश्च सेश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगाभिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरूपैतः in lines 13-14 of the Multāi plates about Nannarāja occurs *verbatim* in the eulogy of Kṛṣṇarāja in the Abhoṇa and other Kalacuri grants.

⁷ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

It should however be noted in this connection that the earlier kings were Śaivas and the later ones Vaisnavas. The latter may have changed their emblems when they changed their religious creed. Instances are not wanting in ancient Indian history of royal families changing their emblems *in the course of time*. The Kalacuris of Tripuri adopted the Gaja-Lakṣmī as their emblem while those of Śarayūpāra had the bull Nandi. The difference in emblems in this case does not therefore necessarily indicate difference in origin.

The connection between the two Rāṣṭrakūṭa families and the approximate dates of their members may be stated as follows :-

(A) Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura — Mānānka (A.D. 375-400)

|
Devarāja (A.D. 400-425)

|
┌───────────┴───────────┐
(Not known) Avidheya Bhavisya
(A.D. 425-440) (A.D. 440-455) (A.D. 455-470)

|
Abhimanyu
(A.D. 470-490)

:

Dejja-Mahārāja
(A.D. 530-550)

Mādhavavarman
(Circa A.D. 550)

:

Durgarāja
(A.D. 570-590)

|
Govindarāja
(A.D. 590-610)

(B) Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Acalapura —

|
Svāmikarāja
(A.D. 610-620)

|
Nannarāja
(A.D. 630-650)

THE RIDDLE OF THE CURSE
IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA *

BY

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I cannot begin without offering an apology to you for the peculiar character of the theme I have chosen for my paper this evening. For the theme is "The Riddle of the Curse in the Mahābhārata". And obviously enough it is a topic quite unpleasant to the ear, whatever philosophical interest it may possess. Of course the incidents of the nature of Curses, which I may mention or have in my mind in the course of my paper, are not all vitally relevant to the story of the Mahābhārata. Most of them do not materially deflect the course of the career of the principal personages in the epic itself, but simply happen to be mentioned as incidents in the many anecdotes, side-stories, legends, histories, dissertations, which crowd the Mahābhārata to suffocation, whether they may or may not be regarded as interpolations. Nor can these curses be said to reflect upon the ethical or literary character of the Author of the Mahābhārata. For in mentioning the incidents of the Curses the Author does not project or betray his own special ill nature or wickedness or malevolence, or misanthrophy. He simply narrates what was traditionally supposed to have actually happened, in a particular manner, under particular conditions of the stories or gossip heard and related by him, with the naive purpose of embellishing the narrative of the Mahābhārata, so as to make it full, attractive, and instructive, according to his lights or the prevailing fashion of the times. However there is such a persistent recurrence of curses as you go along reading, that no observant mind can help being struck with them, and set a-thinking as to their explanation. Why—one naturally stops to ask himself—why this frequent recurrence of these unpleasant phenomena of Curses? Why should Curses be handled with such facility, that they may serve to suggest a

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ready solution of an insoluble problem, or the means of heightening the effect of a crisis, or the sublimation of a character, or an escape from a dilemma ?

And you need not suppose that the question is answered simply by pointing out the set-off, against the Curses, of the cases of blessings (वर or आशीर्वचन), which also undoubtedly occur in the Mahābhārata, and supply the light to illumine the shade. For they are not the delicate touch of light and shade as you see them in a modern portrait painting, but are the robust application of the brush of the Epic painter, who has projected a colossal landscape, with almost superhuman figures moving on it, altogether a weird and fanciful composition. By light and shade in the Mahābhārata I mean the abnormally good and bad things which meet the eye of a modern reader in that great epic poem. To express them, however, I have used the apologetic words pleasant and unpleasant, because I dare not attempt to characterise those phenomena of human nature categorically in terms of modern Ethics or Anthropology. They will have to be judged by a standard which was in vogue and operation more than two thousand years ago. For, as I hope to prove to you presently, both these Blessings and these Curses are not the characteristics of individuals, but they represent a phase of ethical and spiritual culture, through which the Aryan Society, depicted in the Mahābhārata, must have actually passed, at one time.

It is a widely accepted truism that the Mahābhārata is all things to all men. To its admirers it is of course a store house of all that is best in the civilisation and culture of the India of two thousand years ago. But to those who despise and condemn everything archaic or ancient, that store house is nothing but a dust bin, containing all that is unserviceable, unwanted, filthy and harmful. How then can we reconcile this contradiction except by reference to the simple dictum "Every man to his taste" ? Even in the City dustbin, there is matter for the foul tongue of the dog, as also matter for the keen eye of the man of luck, who looks only for grains of old.

This odd mixture of good and evil is characteristic of all books of ancient literature, which are not the work of a single

writer but a collection and compilation of tracts, swelling from age to age, with additions, emendations, interpolations, made by a number of hands and minds. This should be characteristic of course much more of ancient *religious* literature than Epic poems. In purely religious literature there is no central theme, round which may be entwined branches of relevant but extraneous literature. The Hindu Vedas are perhaps an illustration of the kind of literature without a central theme. The Vedas are a collection mostly of independent compositions, which show a complete variety of matter, embracing prose and poetry, descriptive, didactic, lyrical, philosophical, and also dealing with practical human affairs. The Koran has no central theme, but is supposed to be a collection of the utterances, of which the Prophet Mahomed delivered himself in occasional periods of spiritual trance, or Samādhi, or extacy.

Coming to the Bible we find, in the first place, that it is made up of two distinct books, the old and the New Testament, the first dealing with the Jewish prophets and kings, and the second with Jesus, and his propagandist disciples. The range of the literary evolution of the Bible extends from the Song of the well, an old popular song supposed to be written between 1300 and 1100 B. C. to the final form of the book of Revelation, supposed to be written in 136 A. D. The Bible is in the main truly a literature and not a theological or ecclesiastical treatise, or indeed a single book of any kind, springing, as it does, not from any one mind but from scores and hundreds, not from one age but from many. (The Bible by Sunderland).

Like the Mahābhārata the Bible also has its own light and shade. Thus in the old Testament you find sanction and permission for slavery, polygamy, revenge, deceit, murder of witches and heretics, war, indiscriminate slaughter of captives taken in war, and many other kinds of evil. On the other hand we find in the New Testament, compensating or redeeming features. For there is a continuous movement in the Christian mind, as reflected in the Bible, towards progress in many directions, social religious and philosophical, as evinced by the doctrines of monogamy, non-resistance to Evil, Monotheism, and immortality of the soul. It is legitimate, therefore, to demand that in judging of the Bible we must take its best and highest

teaching, not its lowest and worst,—in other words we must look at the Bible as it has grown *to*, and not what it has grown *from*. The writers who have contributed to it were no doubt bigoted, coarse, and even cruel at times, children of a rude age, —some of them occupying different planes morally and spiritually—but on the whole grand men, whose words are, even for the present age, rousing bugle-calls to righteousness in human conduct'.

Curiously enough, unlike the Vedas or the Koran or the Bible, the Mahābhārata has a central theme, and yet, like these, it is overburdened with accretions. The Mahābhārata is mainly the story of an epic war. It is set between two flaming pillars of glorification of the Pāṇḍavas—one the Rājāsya Sacrifice, glorifying them at home, and the Aśvamedha Sacrifice, glorifying them abroad. The first Sacrifice represents their incipient ambition to come to their own as kings, and the second represents the fulfilment and accomplishment of that ambition. The Mahābhārata is not a biography, in the sense of narrating in detail the individual private life of the Pāṇḍavas. It is the extension, throughout, of the single trait of the character of the principal personages, e.g. the indecisive, brain-befogged and plausible Yudhisthira; the gluttonous but brave honest and cock-sure Bhīma; the Valiant, practical minded, and well beloved Arjuna; the spirited and womanly-wise Draupadī; the selfless, righteous and dutiful Kuntī; the hopelessly affection-blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra; the single-mindedly jealous and haughty 'Duryodhana; the beastly reckless Duḥśāsa; the morally heroic and wise but weakminded Bhīṣma; the well-intentioned but helpless and pathetic Vidura; and last but not least, the wise, the powerful, the practical, the statesmanly, the loving, and the magnificently unselfish Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. None of these have any private individual life of their own in the Mahābhārata. They are a team yoked, without rest or interval, to take the chariot of Justice and Righteousness to the triumphant destination, designed by the author of the grand epic. And yet the Mahābhārata is notoriously over-burdened with Upakathās (उपाख्यान's). This accounts for the original Bhārata of 25 thousand stanzas swelling into the Mahābhārata of 100 thousand stanzas. And it is to be noted that

the Curses, to which I am alluding, preponderate mostly in the subsidiary stories, legends, anecdotes, traditions, folk lore, and allegories. In the Ādi Parvan, e. g. you find a larger number of Curses than in any other Parvan. And it is in this Parvan, with the exception of the Śānti Parvan and Anuśāsana Parvan, that you find more matter *unconnected* with the main story of the Mahābhārata War, than in any other Parvan.

I have in my hand a long list of Curses. By itself it would be interesting reading. But most of you have a good idea of them; and therefore I do not propose to read them, lest it may tire your patience. I will deal with them only theoretically.

An analysis of the various Curses shows that even Curses have their own fate, destiny and vicissitudes of fortune. Thus some Curses have an instantaneous effect. At the other end, some Curses are not only defeated and nullified but even react injuriously upon their authors. It is interesting to see what happens to the Curses in between these two extremes. I shall relate a few of these happenings at random. Thus a Curse is modified or mollified immediately on its utterance, on an appeal for mercy by him who is to suffer from it. This appeal generally succeeds, because none so heartless as will not relent. And is not an appeal for mercy in itself a triumph for the Curse giver? And he either modifies the rigour of the punishment, or suggests a remedy for its nullification, or varies the period of its operation. But in some cases the Curse is stoutly and successfully opposed by the counter soul force or strength of will in the intended victim. In fact in the आस्तिकपर्व (वासुकी) Vāsuki, the great Serpent, expressly says to his brothers

सर्वेषामपि शापानां प्रतिघातो हि विद्यते

न तु मात्राऽभिज्ञानां मोक्षो विद्येत पद्मगाः

"All Curses, except those given by a mother, can be of course met by a counter stroke". Or some third party or agency with a spiritual force, equal or superior to that of the giver of the Curse, intervenes; with the result that the curse fails. In some cases the Curse is conditioned to take effect like a time-fuse bomb, and is hindered in the process by unexpected obstacles: In some cases the Curse is simply capable of different interpretations, and the victim may adopt and insist upon an interpretation favourable to

himself and thus naively escapes its operation. Some of the Curses in the Mahābhārata do not appear to be even genuine. But the author सौमि interpolates them as anticipations of prophecies. Some Curses are pure after-thoughts, in the sense that what is mentioned as having actually happened in the story, is related back in point of time by imagination. And nothing can be more easy to turn accomplished facts into prophecies or Curses, than by simply stating that it was so destined to happen under a Curse. The reason for falling a victim to this temptation of falsifying a story, or adulterating it with non-genuine matter, is that readers are generally credulous enough to accept anything without scrutiny or criticism; and there is no fear of checking the alterations made in manuscripts by a comparative study of them and determining the valid texts. In the case of some Curses it is obvious that by promulgating them out of his own imagination, the malefisant corruptor of the Manuscript gratifies his own fancy and predilections. Thus Yudhisṭhira (युधिष्ठिर) cursed his own mother Kuntī (कुन्ती) saying that no woman shall be hereafter able to keep a secret. This is obviously too wide of the mark. If Kuntī (कुन्ती) had been cursed for herself for concealing the birth of Karṇa (कर्ण) one could easily understand it, as the effusion of a righteous man, who felt injured by this unnecessary unjust treatment of his own brother. But the curse upon the eternal generations of women, slyly wickedly alluding to the tell-tale gossiping character of womankind, fails absolutely to fit in with the needs of the case.

Let us now discuss the philosophical aspect of the phenomena of Curses.

'In the early human society the world of thought is dominated by magic, Animism and polytheism. The rules of ethical conduct are determined mostly by custom, and the violation of custom is supposed to bring about its own penalty, either through some evil automatically happening to the offender, or through the intervention of some evil Spirit. Apart from custom there are positive taboos against certain kinds of acts. And whether for the violation of the custom or the taboo, a curse is pronounced by the people as a whole or a priest as the representative of the people.'

Nearly all religions have passed through this crude spiritual stage. In that stage there is a mixture or a blending of the magical and the ethical. Consequently we meet with blessings and curses supposed to have effects in this life or even the life hereafter. The Hindu and Christian and Zoroastrian religious books, contain evidence of the power, wielded by supernatural Spirits both for good and evil. Those who are ethically good and righteous are blessed with the good things of the earth, and those who are immoral wicked and sinful are cursed. Thus Ahura declares that the Waters shall be an enjoyment for the righteous, and a torment for the wicked. As regards sexual matters, the Courtesan is banned, as one whose look dries up the mighty floods. They are cursed with death at the hands of gliding snakes or howling wolves. The man who goes to a woman in her menses is liable to be beaten with whips by *unknown* hands. Abortion is treated as murder. The first Curse of Goddess Ashi is for the Courtesan who destroys her child, the second for her who passes off a strange child as her husband's child, and the third Curse is for the men who deprive virgins and maids of the right or opportunity of marrying and producing children. The fear of bringing barrenness on the land is the dominating motive in these Curses and ordinances.

Similarly in chapter XXVII of the old Testament there are Curses pronounced by Moses upon the Jews, who will not obey or carry out the famous commandments. They are of two kinds—general Curses, i. e. Curses, in which punishments are not mentioned but offences are specified; and secondly, specific Curses in which both the offences and punishments are specified. Thus a Curse in general terms is imposed upon the man that makes any graven or molten image, or treats his parents with lightness or frivolty, or removes his neighbour's landmark, or makes the blind to wander out of the way, smites his neighbour secretly, or kills an innocent person for reward. As for punishments, which are pronounced as part of the Curses, they are e. g. pestilence, consumption, showers of powder and dust, madness, blindness etc. Further these Curses are to pursue the condemned person or persons, overtake them, destroy them and *also* their progeny. One Curse in particular (in Verse 53 XXVIII Old

Testament) goes so far as to say "Thou shall eat the fruit of your own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters."

Speaking of pre-Christian pagan times, Curse tablets by the thousand have been found in Greek graves and Sanctuaries. Curse is the essence of early Greek law. No commandment without a Curse. Break the commandment, and something dire or dreadful is bound to happen. Written on those Curse tablets were the words ' I bind you down. '

When one reads of a Curse given by somebody to somebody else, the first impression is that it is the exhibition of unwarranted impatience, or petulance, or irritability, or malevolence, or wickedness, on the part of the giver of the Curse. But I have read of no Curse which was gratuitous or unprovoked. Somebody is in the wrong, or has committed an offence before the Curse was uttered. Then, however, comes the question whether the offended party should not have capacity enough for toleration and forgiveness. That point becomes relevant and valid, because the author of a Curse is supposed to possess a fund of spiritual merit, without which no Curse can be operative or effective ; and in that case an expectation naturally arises in our mind, that such a spiritually superior man should have in him the grace of toleration and forgiveness, which are or should be the natural accompaniment of such spiritual superiority. Is it not better for this spiritual man to conserve his Tapasyā (तपस्या) and forgive the offender, than spend or expend it in a Curse ? Though spiritual merit, acquired by Tapas (तपस्), be an energy or an ammunition, must it be necessarily spent in an explosion of the Curse, like a bullet or a bomb ? But the history of Curses shows that even in the Golden Age, toleration and forgiveness were at a discount, which brings men of that age, I beg to claim, on a level with the men of this Kaliyuga (कलियुग) the so called vile accursed Age. The superiority of the men of the Golden Age may lie in the capacity to produce the spiritual gun powder, but not in the capacity to use it sparingly. Happily the man of the Kali Yuga has not in him that factory to produce a spiritually explosive ammunition, though he may not also show a greater capacity for forgiveness. The main difference between the two, therefore, lies in the fact that while in the matter of redressing a

wrong done to him, the man of the Mahābhārata was independent and self-reliant, the man in the Kaliyuga, is not allowed to take the law into his own hand. How shall we explain this phenomenon or this riddle of the Curse in ancient times? It is obvious in the first place, that in ancient times the giver of the Curse must have some reason to believe that the evil which he pronounces as punishment is bound to happen. Otherwise it would be mere conscious deliberate empty bluff! But it was not. Can it be because he had already found out this power of his by experience in any previous cases? Or, though it may be the very first case of his Curse, he may be so confident or self-deluded or vain as to believe that his very utterance of the Curse will set the Machinery of the natural and supernatural powers concerned in motion, and bring about the ordained result? As I have pointed out above, in some cases, the Curse may be nullified by stronger powers, but in many cases the Curses have been actually fulfilled as recorded in the Mahābhārata. In these cases how did it all happen? Had the Curse giver actually such power over the circumstances? Could he command Nature to his will? Or was he such a favourite with God that this man could draw a cheque at will upon the Divine Bank for a special specific dispensation to meet his demand or order? In the opinion of some people the explanation is, that the very person, on whom the Curse is inflicted, helps the giver of the Curse by believing that the Curse will be fulfilled, and putting himself in such a mentally weak helpless or susceptible condition by nervous prostration, that the intended physical harm should come about. In other words the receiver of the Curse himself helps the giver and contributes to the result. But the Curses are so various that, in some of the cases, the result is physically impossible to be so brought about. It should be remembered that Curses were prevalent in an age, in which society was not far advanced in point of public judicial administration, so that taking the law into one's own hand was a necessity, and was also a recognised method of redressing private personal injury or grievance. In the modern age, this right of the private individual to become his own complainant, his own witness, his own Judge and Jury, and finally his own police and executive

agency, is strictly limited in the Criminal law to only cases of self-defence, in which immediate spontaneous action alone can prevent irreparable harm to person or property, and recourse to the Magistracy or the police would be out of the question.

In winding up my theme I feel gratified to be able to conclude on a pleasant note. And it is this. Many of the Curses, which have come under review in my paper, were uttered by men reputed to be (ऋषि's) Rsis and (मुनि's) Munis, who were supposed to have practised (तपस्या) Tapasyā or holy penance during part of their life. And it would, therefore, be claimed against them, that they should have known better than to have lost their temper and composure so lightly, and spent that spiritual force in actions of undignified retaliation by uttering Curses. But I wish prominently to note by way of contrast, that, throughout the traditional biographies of all the modern saints and Godly men, belonging to the (भक्तिसंप्रदाय) Bhaktisāmpradāya in Maharashtra, extending for five centuries from (ज्ञानेश्वर) Jñānēśvara to (तुकाराम) Tukārāma, you do not come across a single instance of a Curse given by any of them. Not that these saints had no troublesome opponents or enemies. But the Saints won a victory over them, by exhibition of an extraordinary self-restraint and divine forbearance. I would give a few instances. When (नामदेव) Nāmadeva visited Delhi, a cow was killed by a (यवन) Yavana in the very presence of the Saint while he was performing (हरिकीर्तन) Hari Kīrtana. But (नामदेव) instead of cursing the miscreant, continued his Hari Kīrtanas till the cow was brought back to life. A vile Critic and reviler of Ekanātha repeatedly spat on his body while returning after a holy bath from (गोदावरी) the Godāvari. The only thing Ekanātha did was to tire out the patience of his opponent by going back each time for one more purifying bath in the river. The notorious (मंबाजी) Mambāji caused the whole record of the Saintly poetry of (तुकाराम) Tukārāma to be drowned in (इंद्रायणी) the Indrāyaṇī river at Dehu. But in none of these cases did the saint lose his spiritual composure, much less give a Curse. Here was a contrast to the petulant and ill-tempered men of the (पौराणिक) Paurāṇic times—the so called (ऋषि's) Rsis and (मुनि's) Munis—whose mind and tongue must have been as bad as the proverbial scorpion, who stings as soon he feels an adverse, or not even an

adverse touch. And one can, therefore, make a claim that the saints and holy men of the historical ages in this country have proved to be men with a superior spiritual competence than those of the (पौराणिक) Pauranic ages, and that human nature is not deteriorating as pessimists would have us believe. I am an optimist. In my view the Golden Age, if there be a golden age, was certainly not in the past but may be in the future. The only redeeming feature of these unpleasant Curses seems to be that reliable evidence of their actual fulfilment is as rare and elusive as the evidence of the so called miracles. The evidence is generally of a heresay character, and repetition of the miraculous fulfilment cannot of course be demanded, much less commanded. In most cases the story of a Curse is fabricated as fanciful interpretation of some event or happening, which could not be explained by ordinary rules of logic or experience. This is all like astrological prophecies, which are in many cases *post facto* anticipations. The phrase is paradoxical but easily explains itself. For, like an astrological prophecy, no one can honestly say that he has seen both the prophecy openly nailed to the Counter wall in advance, formulated in unambiguous terms, and seen also its fulfilment under test conditions.

The fact, however, remains, that belief in Curses is one of the curious contents, stored up and cherished in a secret pocket of the human mind, which is called credulity or faith, and which cannot be openly investigated and examined. Though not so rampant as in ancient times, belief in Curses still lingers even in this modern age. There is still a belief that words uttered by a suffering soul have a mystical potency for evil. Belief in soul force no doubt lingers even in the 20th century, but it is now on its trial, and is fighting in the last ditch. It is being hard pressed by the ever advancing विज्ञान, or knowledge of the physical world, physical laws, the emancipation of the mind and intellect, and the achievements of Science, which Man can test by experience and handle for his use and welfare. Soul-force is a not unwelcome category, but would be desired not as a weapon of offensive ill-will, but an instrument of righteous self discipline. In that case its effects on others would be irrelevant and out of count. Soul-force should remain only as a synonym

of strength of will, purity of motives of actions, and steadfastness of purpose and endeavour. The ethics of it all will remain, though the halo and grandeur of spirituality may disappear.

And now I would like to conclude by fancifully parodying a Curse, by relating to you a fabricated legend which you, my hearers will, I think, like to believe. It is an example of an apparent Curse intended as a blessing. Half a century ago there was a student of Sanskrit, by name Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who was so persistently industrious in his devotion to it, that the Goddess presiding over (देववाणी) the Devavānī could not get a moment's rest, out of his (परिश्रम) and (सेवा) Sevā. She saw she had no more gifts in her treasure to give him. And in a moment of desperation, when his devotion became a nuisance, she cursed him saying "You will take the form of a marble block and will have to suffer the hacking strokes of the Chisel of a Sculptor, and remain motionless as a statue in an academy of Oriental Studies, which will cherish and worship you, and which you will perpetually inspire in return out your love for of knowledge and research."

GLIMPSES OF EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA *

BY

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

Vastness of the Subject. The subject of Ancient Indian Education is too vast to be adequately treated in one occasional lecture. It calls for a special treatise for its proper treatment. I have, therefore, chosen to give a few peeps or glimpses into the system of education that prevailed in ancient India, and stands so amply justified by its results, the quality and quantity of its output, the vast and varied literature that it has brought forth through the ages. But, unfortunately, more attention has been paid to the literary creations of this ancient educational system than to the system which produced them, its aims and methods responsible for the results.

Education at its best: Vedic Education. I may begin by presenting the features of Ancient Indian Education at its best and at its earliest, as revealed in Vedic literature, especially the literature of the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upanisads*, and *Āraṇyakas*. These works do not describe directly the educational system of which they were the products. It has to be studied in indirect allusions, incidental illustrations, or stray passages, contained in these texts.

Hermitages. First of all, they indicate the physical environment in which education was imparted. It was imparted in schools located far away from the din and bustle of cities in an atmosphere of solitude, peace and quiet conducive to that contemplation on the basis of which India thought out her highest. From these sylvan schools, hermitages, and solitary retreats flowed the highest thought of India.

India's civilization-rural not urban. India's civilization itself is very largely the product of her woods and forests. It was not in its origin an urban but a rural civilization. The position has

* The paper was read at the Institute on 23rd August 1944, the 19th Anniversary of the late Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

been very graphically put by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore in his inimitable words :

" A most wonderful thing we notice in India is that here the forest, not the town, is the fountain-head of all its civilization.

" Wherever in India its earliest and most wonderful manifestations are noticed, we find that men have not come into such close contact as to be rolled or fused into a compact mass. There, trees and plants, rivers and lakes, had ample opportunity to live in close relationship with men.

" In these forests, though there was human society, there was enough of open space, of aloofness ; there was no jostling, still this aloofness did not produce inertia in the Indian mind, rather it rendered it all the brighter. It is the forest that has nurtured the two great ancient ages of India, the Vedic and the Buddhist.

" As did the Vedic Rsis, Lord Buddha also showered his teachings in the many woods of India.

" The current of civilization that flowed from its forests inundated the whole of India, "

India a land of villages. To this day the civilization of India has maintained its original character. It is still not of her cities. Its roots lie in the villages. The Nation in India still lives in the village and in the cottage. This is proved by the figures of census showing that India still means a land of about 7 lacs of villages as against about only 38 cities, taking the population of a city at one lac and above.

Its appropriate plan of reconstruction. This fundamental fact should determine the lines on which India's political and economic reconstruction should proceed. It is primarily a problem of rural reconstruction, the rehabilitation of her lacs of villages where live her dumb millions. I have recently served for two years as a member of an important Agricultural Commission, the Floud Commission, who investigated rural problems of all possible types in different regions all over India. I have thus got a vivid picture in my mind of what India is as a reality. Reconstruction must relate itself to this reality. Three hundred millions out of nearly 400 millions of India's total population are on land from which it is not easy to move

them by any profitable schemes of industrial planning. That planning may touch the top but there must be some other planning to be applied to the foundation of India's social structure.

Agriculture in India is unable to feed these millions. Their lot is chronic starvation. Agriculture employs them for about half the year, but it has its off-seasons for the other half of the year, when these millions are rendered workless, and without means of livelihood. In the ancient indigenous economic system there was a balanced development of both agriculture and industry or handicrafts in every village. Every village was run as a self-contained economic unit.

The ancient Indian Village Republic. Politically it was also functioning as a regular republic. India through the ages has been built up as a vast rural democracy, the home of countless self-governing groups of various descriptions. These republican village-communities of India rendered a good account of themselves through the ages as centres of life and light, strongholds of India's culture, right up to about 18th century until they were swept away by the onrush of a centralized system of administration and over-government. The position was very well explained by that renowned Anglo-Indian administrator, Sir Charles Metcalfe, before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832 [*Report*, Vol. III, Appendix 84, p. 331]. He stated: "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution,..... but the village community remains the same.....This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state for itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the peoples of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence".

I have been led to this digression by my contacts with politics which I sometimes take to be a fruitful field for applied history.

My point is that in the good old days for millenniums India's culture and civilization centred in her villages which were living organisms, and built up the country on stable foundations. In that upbuilding, the system of education naturally played the most important part as a creative and formative process.

Education as a system of both learning and living. The system of education in these rural schools and hermitages was a system not merely of learning, but of living. Education was considered not as a mere mechanical process of imparting information from without. It was considered a biological process, a process of growth from within. It was to be an inner growth. This educative process in the ancient Indian system is named by the significant term *Brahmacarya*. It is something which depends on *caryā*—practice or realization, and not on mere theory or intellectual apprehension of truth.

Need of the teacher. This view of education determined its method. It depended absolutely on the teacher. The pupil must seek the teacher who can admit him to his teaching. The *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* compared the pupil without a teacher to a man who is blind-folded and is unable to find his way home. He can find it only when the teacher takes off his eyes the bandage i. e. dispel the mist of empirically acquired knowledge blinding his eyes. The pupil thus finding his teacher must live with him. He is called an *antevāsi*, one who lives close to his teacher.

The teacher's home as school: Individual treatment in education. In ancient India, the home of the teacher was the school. The school was a natural formation and not an artificially created institution. The constant touch between the teacher and taught was vital to education. The pupil's concern should be to imbibe the inward method of the teacher, the secrets of his efficiency, the spirit of his life and work, and these things are too subtle to be taught by formal instruction. India believed in domestic system in both industry and education and not in the methods of large scale production in factories turning out standardised products. Artistic work is the product of human skill, and not of the machine.

The making of man depends more on the human factor—on individual treatment of the pupil by his teacher. A modern school teaches pupils by 'classes', and not as individuals, with their differences. Can any one conceive of a common treatment of patients suffering from different diseases? While such treatment is not applied to diseases of the body which can be visualised, why should it be applied in dealing with invisible, intangible material, with different minds and different spiritual conditions?

Self-fulfilment--the Aim of Education. The individual touch of the master in education was also essential for its object. The objective of ancient Indian education was the attainment of the highest knowledge, what may be called self-fulfilment. It was not the acquisition of half-truths or intermediate truths. Education was to aid in self-fulfilment, and not in the acquisition of mere objective knowledge. It was more concerned with the subject than the object, with the inner than the outer world.

Avenues of Knowledge other than Senses. In its indifference to objective knowledge, the system assumes that this universe is not what is revealed by the bodily senses, which man shares with the lower animals, that our facilities of perception are not necessarily confined to the five senses, and that mental life is not entirely bound up with or completely dependent upon what is called the cerebral mechanism or the brain. It is, therefore, considered as the main business of education to open up other avenues of knowledge than the mere brain or the outer senses.

Mind, the Chief Concern of Education. Thus the mind is the chief and central concern of this education. It was not to fill the mind with information like furniture. The mind is the supreme creative force of culture and civilization. It is the power of the mind that counts in life and not the information with which it may be furnished. Thus the method of this education was to train the mind itself as the medium and the instrument of knowledge, to overhaul the mental apparatus, to transform the psychic organism and to raise the level of mental life. It was not to fill the mind with stores of objective knowledge,

Inhibition of Individuation. It was the method of *Yoga*, the science and art of the reconstruction of self by discipline and meditation. It aims at stopping the functions of mind as the avenue or the vehicle of objective knowledge, the inhibition of individuation; when the mind is withdrawn from the world of matter and does not give itself to individuation, then omniscience, the knowledge of the whole, dawns upon it.

Individuation sheets out omniscience. The theory is that it is hopeless to get at the knowledge of the whole through its parts, through the individual objects making up the universe. The right way is directly to seek the source of all life and knowledge, not to acquire knowledge piecemeal by the study of individual objects. Individuation is the concretising of the mind. The mind takes the form of the object in knowing it. It unites itself to the object, like the water that limits itself in a tank. Thus individuation is bondage. It limits vision. Knowledge, omniscience, perception of life in the perspective of the whole, is *Mukti* or emancipation. Individuation is death.

Need of detaching Mind from Matter. Thus the mind, seeking external knowledge, comes into contact with and is contaminated and transformed by matter, and communicates this contamination to the soul, self or *Puruṣa*, which enters into bondage. The question is: How to break this bondage and escape from the clutches of matter? By simply cutting off the inflow of matter upon mind, checking the materialisation of the mind and soul. For the soul too, in Milton's words of insight, "embodies and imbrutes".

Hence education is *citta-vṛtti—nirōdha*, controlling the mind, driving it to its deeper layers, its subterranean depths not ruffled by the ripples of the surface, the infinite distractions of the material world by which the mind wears itself out in fatigue. When the mind is thus led to rest in itself, falls back upon its innate strength and does not lose itself in the pursuit of knowledge of individual objects, there at once dawns and bursts forth on the mind and soul the totality of knowledge, material and spiritual, universal knowledge, omniscience as already explained. In the *Upaniṣads*, the universe is likened

to a *pippala* tree rooted in the universal consciousness, spreading its branches and leaves as the life and the phenomenal world.

Views of Bergson. It is interesting to note that the great western philosopher, Bergson, is also in agreement with the great masters of Indian education in regard to this point of view, and the necessity of withdrawing the mind from the world of matter, which "imposes upon it its spatial forms, and thus arrests the natural creativity, inwardness, and suppleness of conscious life". For, as he says, "consciousness, in shaping itself into intelligence, that is to say, in concentrating itself on matter, seems, to externalize itself". It is only when the self "brackets" itself out from the realm of things that the psychic processes regain their normal ways. Such withdrawal, says Bergson, permits the fusion of the varied functions of life and mind into a unitary and concrete process—the intuition. He further points out that "the individual's consciousness, delving downwards, reveals to him, the deeper he goes, his original personality, to which he may cling as something solid, as means of escape from a life of impulse, caprice, and regret. In our innermost selves, we may discover an equilibrium more durable than the one on the surface. Certain aquatic plants, as they rise to the surface, are ceaselessly jostled by the current; their leaves, meeting above the water, interlace, thus imparting to them stability above. But still more stable are the roots which firmly planted in the earth, support them from below". [*Morality and Religion*, p. 6].

The three Steps of Learning. In such a scheme of education, mere study as such occupies a very subsidiary place. The Upanisads mention three steps of such education viz. (i) *Śravaṇa* (2) *Manana* (3) *Nididhyāsana*. *Śravaṇa* is listening to the instruction of the teacher, to the words or texts uttered by him. This was to be followed by the more important process of *Manana* or meditation on the subjects taught. But this resulted only in the intellectual apprehension of Truth, and not in its realization. This was to be achieved by *Nididhyāsana*.

The ideal is thus expressed by a great philosopher in the Upanisads: "When any one says: That is an ox, that is a

horse ; it is thereby pointed out. Point out to me the revealed, unveiled Brahma, the Ātman which dwells in everything.”

Nididhyāsana represents the highest stage of meditation which, with reference to Brahma or the one Reality, has been defined as *Vijātiya-dehādipratyaya-virahita-advitīya-vastu - sajātiya-pravāhaḥ* “ as the steady stream (pravāha) of consciousness of the one, undisturbed by the slightest consciousness of the many, or any material object, contradictory to the sense of the one or the soul.” The Upanisads prescribe certain preliminary exercises in meditation to lead up to its final stage. These are called *Upāsanaś* giving training in contemplation.

Nārada's confessions to Sanatkumāra : Learning without Realisation of Truth. The situation is best summed up in the words that Nārada addresses to Sanatkumāra (*Chāndogya* vii, 1), which throw light not merely on the methods of this education but also on the then subjects of study.

Nārada states that he had studied subjects like the R̥gveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda as fourth, Itihāsa-Purāna as the fifth Veda, Grammar (called *Vedānān-Vedaḥ*, ‘ the Veda of Vedas ’), Biology (*Bhūta-vidyā*), Arithmetic (*Rāsī*) Divination (*Daiva*), Chronology (*Nidhi*), Dialectics (*Vākovākyaṃ = Tarkaśāstram*), Politics (*Ekāyana*), Theology (*Deva-vidyā*), Exegetics (= *Nirukta*, as explained by Śamkara), the Doctrine of Prayer (*Brahma-vidyā*), which Śamkara, however, explains as the Vedāṅgas of *Śikṣā* (Phonetics), *Kalpa* (Ceremonial) and *Chandas* (Metrics or Prosody), Necromancy (*Pitrya*), Military Science (*Kṣatra-vidyā*), Astronomy (*Nakṣatra-vidyā*), Study of snake-venoms (*Sarpa-vidyā*) and the fine arts (*Devajana-vidyā*) explained by Śamkara to mean *Nṛtya* (Dancing), *Gīta*, *Vādya* (Music Vocal and Instrumental) and other arts (*Śilpādi*); but Ranga Rāmānuja takes it as *Deva-vidyā* (Gandharva-Śāstram) or Music, and *Jana-vidyā* or Āyurveda (Medical Science). Said Nārada : “ These subjects, Sir, have I studied. Therefore am I learned in the scripture, (*Mantra-Vit*), but not yet learned in the Ātmā (*Ātma-Vit*). Yet have I heard from such as are like you that he who knows the Ātman vanquishes sorrow. I am in sorrow. Lead me then over, I pray, to the farther shore that lies beyond sorrow ”.

Nārada here utters the prayer of all human beings carrying the common and universal burden of sorrow, the ills which flesh is heir to. It was given to India to find the knowledge which would achieve man's release from this fundamental burden and bondage of life.

The reply of Sanatkumāra to this appeal of Nārada is interesting: "Whatever you have studied is mere words". Similarly, Śvetaketu spending twelve years in a "thorough study of all the Vedas" is found by his father, Rsi Uddālaka Āruṇi, only "full of conceit and confidence in his study and wisdom, without the knowledge of the one through whom anything is known" (*Chāndogya*, vi, 1).

Upakośala Kāmalāyana was another student who by his twelve years' study and austerities was not considered fit by his teacher for the highest knowledge (*Ch.* iv, 10).

Therefore the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* states (iv, 4, 21): "The seeker after the highest knowledge should not seek after the knowledge of books, for that is mere weariness of the tongue". Again: "Therefore, let a Brāhmaṇa, after he has done with learning, wish to stand by real strength (knowledge of the self which enables us to dispense with all other knowledge)". The *Kātha* also points out: "Not by the Veda is the Ātman attained, nor by intellect, nor by much knowledge of books" (i, 2, 23).

Practical Subjects of Study. From theory and ideals, I may now turn to actual working of these ancient Indian schools. It will be seen that this education was not merely academic, theoretical, religious, philosophical or metaphysical. In the list of subjects available for study in the time of the Upaniṣads, as stated by Nārada, there are included several practical subjects and positive sciences like Biology, Arithmetic, Politics, Dialectics, Military Science, Astronomy, Fine Arts, and Crafts. A passage in the *Rgveda* [ix, 112] shows how human needs and capacities remain the same in all ages, so as to call for the same kind of educational and social programmes: "We different men have different aptitudes and pursuits (*dhiyo vi vratām*). The carpenter (*Takṣā*) seeks something that is broken; the physician (*Bhiṣaj*) a patient (*rutam*); the priest (*Brahma*) some-one who will perform sacrifice (*sunvantam*).

"I am a poet (*Kāruḥ*), my father a physician, and my mother a grinder of corn (*upala-prakṣiṇi*)".

Training in Crafts: Tending Cattle and Dairy Farming. In the primary schools, a most practical training was given to the pupils by making the care of its cattle compulsory for each pupil. It was relating education to a craft. The craft which the Upaniṣads prefer is the important one of dairy-farming, which counts to this day as one of the national key-industries of the country. The school and the homestead centred round the cow, whom the Indian counts as his second mother, whose milk nourishes the child and is the best food even for the grown-up. Three acres and a cow has been India's economic plan through the ages. The pupils received a valuable training in the love of the cow and the industry of rearing up cattle and dairy-farming, with all the other advantages it gave of outdoor life and robust physical exercise, which was more fruitful in every way than the modern barren games of football and hockey. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* tells us of the great sage Satyakāma Jābāla, who, in his boyhood, was apprenticed by his teacher to take charge of his cattle whose number grew under his guardianship from 400 to 1000. And this training in industry was the foundation of the highest knowledge for which the Ṛṣi was known. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* also tells of Ṛṣi Yājñavalkya, the foremost philosopher of the time, good enough, with his band of pupils, to drive away home from the court of Janaka 1000 cows, which the king bestowed on him as the reward of his learning.

Tending sacred fire. Besides tending the cattle of the school, there was other practical work presented for the pupil. His first daily duty was to walk to the woods, cut and collect fuel and fetch it home for tending the sacred fire. The Upaniṣads frequently mention pupils approaching their teacher with fuel in hand as a token that the pupil is ready to serve the teacher and tend his household fire. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains (xi, 5, 4, 5) that the Brahmacāri "puts on fuel to enkindle the mind with fire with holy lustre."

Tending the teacher's house. The pupil had also to tend the teacher's house. Tending the house was training the pupil in self-help, the dignity of labour, of menial service for his teacher, and the student-brotherhood.

Daily Begging for the School. Another duty of the *Brahmacāri* was to go out on a round for begging. It was not begging for himself but for the support of his school. Its educative value is explained in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xi, 3, 3, 5) which points out that it is meant to produce in the pupil a spirit of humility and renunciation. The daily practice of begging has its own moral effects. It makes the Ego less and less assertive and, with it, all unruly desires and passions, which do not shoot forth as their roots wither. Begging also makes the pupil feel how unattached he is to any ties, and he feels a sense of independence, contributing to a sense of self-hood. It is like a ritual for the cultivation of impersonal relations in life. This contact of the recluse with the world is a valuable corrective, to the exaggerated subjectivity of isolated meditative life in the hermitage. Isolation and intercourse lead to a higher synthesis of the inner and the outer.

Variety of Educational Agencies and Institutions. The literature of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* shows that the education of those days was imparted and spread through a variety of institutions.

The Domestic Schools. The first of these was, as we have seen, the domestic school of the teacher, his *āśrama* or hermitage, to which were admitted pupils of tender age who leave the home of their natural parents where their body was cared for and nurtured for that of the spiritual parent where their mind and soul would be nourished. This entry into the preceptor's home was a sort of spiritual birth and hence a second birth, whence the *Brahmacārin* is dubbed a *dvija* and an *antevāsin*. Life with the teacher was a life regulated by the discipline of *Brahmacarya*.

The Carakas. Besides these domestic schools where the pupil completed his ordinary education as a *Brahmacārī*, there were also in existence other agencies and institutions for advanced study and research and spread of learning through the country.

There were pupils whose love of knowledge became a passion, and made them dedicate their lives to its service. Such students sought to achieve further advances in their knowledge by means of discussions among themselves or by the instruction of renowned specialists and literary celebrities.

Thus these advanced students who were wandering through the country in quest of higher knowledge, these peripatetic teachers, formed a useful agency for the spread of learning and culture. They were the real educators of thought in the country. They were called by the significant name of *Carakas*. The texts mention many typical examples of these. Uddālaka Āruṇi of the Kuru-Pāñcāla country goes to the north, where in a disputation to which he challenges the northern scholars, he has to yield to their leader, Śaunaka [ib. xi, 4, 1, 24]. He also spent some time in the land of the Madras in the north to receive instruction from their learned philosopher, *Patañcala Kāpya* [Br. Up., iii, 7, 1]. "Five great householders and theologians came out together and held a discussion as to what is our self and what is Brahman," and then went together to the sage Uddālaka Āruṇi and to the king Aśvapati Kaikeya for instruction on the subject of Vaiśvānara [ib., x, 6, 1, 12; *Chāndogya Up.*, v, 11]. Nārada, after completing the study of all the sciences and arts of his times, seeks further instruction from Sanatkumāra [Chāndogya Up., vii, 14].

Parīṣad. We also read of regular organizations for such advanced study, like the Pāñcāla Parīṣad, an academy patronized by the king of the country, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who daily attended its meetings [ib., v, 3; *Bṛhad. Up.*, vi, 2, 1-7]. I may say that the Bhandarkar Research Institute is itself functioning as a most important Parīṣad of modern times, keeping up the tradition of learning, handed down from the age of the Upaniṣads.

We thus see that, along with the settled homes of learning in which education was begun and imparted under a regular system of rules and discipline governing the entire life of the *Brahmacārin* as a whole-time inmate of his preceptor's house, there was this system of academic meetings for purposes of philosophical discussions among advanced scholars wandering through the country in quest of higher knowledge and of the teacher who was able to impart it. It was in these learned debates of fluctuating bodies of peripatetic scholars that the truth about the Ātman, the Ultimate Reality and foundation of things, was thoroughly thrashed out and the study and wisdom

of the elementary schools were tested and matured through the ordeal of criticism and friction of minds.

It may be noted in this connection that the Upanisads themselves are in a sense to be regarded as the record and outcome of such academic disputations, the transactions, so to speak, of the philosophical societies or circles of the literary celebrities of the times. They represent the results of the researches of advanced scholars with whom the pursuit of truth, the quest of the Ātman, superseded all other pursuits and quests and who frequently met together to discuss and compare the results of their independent investigations. They constitute a kind of knowledge, a body of truths, which could not usually and naturally be attained in the preliminary and preparatory period of formal pupilage under a system in which the student was to "sit down near" (*upa+ni+sat*,) his teacher for instruction.

Learned Conferences. Besides these residential schools, academies for advanced study, and circles of philosophical disputants, a great impetus to learning came from the assemblies of learned men gathered together by kings. A typical example of these was the Conference organized by King Janaka of Videha in connection with his horse-sacrifice, to which he invited all the learned men of the Kuru-Pañcāla country. The leading figure in that Conference was Yājñavalkya, to whom difficult metaphysical problems were put by eight leading philosophers of the times, viz. (1) Uddālaka Āruṇi, who was the centre of a circle of scholars contributing most to the philosophy of the Upanisads (2) Aśvala, the Hotṛ priest of king Janaka; (3) Ārtaabhāga; (4) Bhujyu, a fellow pupil of Āruṇi Senior; (5) Usasta; (6) Kahōḍa; (7) Śākalya; and (8) Gārgī, the learned daughter of Vacaknu. The satisfactory solutions which Yājñavalkya gave to all the problems put to him won him the palm of supremacy among the philosophers of his times and the king's reward of 1000 cows with their horns hung with gold coins (5 pieces of *pādas* to each) [*Br. Up.*].

Yājñavalkya as an example of the educational system. The life of Yājñavalkya very well illustrates these educational agencies and conditions of the times. He started as the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi whose son, Śvetaketu, was one of his fellow-disciples.

Next, we find him wandering through the country with his companions, Śvetaketu, and Soma Śusma, till they meet on the way king Janaka of Videha who defeats them in argument. While the other two hold back, Yājñavalkya, a true seeker after Truth, draws after the king and has no hesitation in receiving instruction from him, a Kṣatriya. After instruction, the Brāhmaṇa pupil, Yājñavalkya, offered a boon to his Kṣatriya teacher, the king, who answered: "Let mine be the privilege of asking questions of thee when I list, O Yājñavalkya!" [*Sata. Br.* xi, 6, 2] We next find Yājñavalkya figuring in the Philosophical Congress called by Janaka, as described above, and establishing his superiority to his teacher, Uddālaka. We later find him teaching king Janaka, another of his former teachers, on three occasions. Janaka was taught six different definitions of Brahman by six teachers named Jitvan, Udaṅka, Barku, Gardabhi-vipita, Satyakāma, and Śākalya. Yājñavalkya taught him the Upanisads or hidden attributes behind these definitions. On the next occasion, king Janaka sought his instruction on the question, "Whither will you go after death?" On Yājñavalkya's reply to this question, Deussen says: "Nor have we even today any better reply to give" [*Philosophy of the Upanisads*, p. 90]. The king was so much moved by it that he offered his preceptor entire kingdom as a gift, with himself as slave! On the third occasion, Yājñavalkya delivers to the king his last discourse on Brahman, to attain Whom one must free himself from desire. "Knowing this, the people of old did not wish for offspring. What shall we do with offspring, they said, we who have this self, and this world of Brahman?" Again: "The Ātman is that which is without and above hunger and thirst, sorrow and passion, decay and death. Realising that Ātman, Brāhmaṇas conquer the desire for progeny, for wealth and possessions, and even for heaven, and embrace the life of renunciation as homeless mendicants, subsisting by the strength which this knowledge of Ātman alone gives; then they devote themselves to contemplation till they are ultimately merged in the Brahman" [*Br. Up.*].

Yājñavalkya was not slow to apply to himself his teachings. He had two wives, Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī, whom he called one day and said: "Verily, I am going away from this my house

into the forest. Let me make a settlement between you!" Maitreyī, however, asked him: "My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it or no?" "No," replied Yājñavalkya, "there is no hope of immortality by wealth." Then Maitreyī said: "What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth of Immortality, tell that clearly to me." Yājñavalkya then gave to his wife, Maitreyī, instruction on Brahma and then retired to the forest [*Br. Up.*, iv, 6].

Āraṇyakas. The learning or culture of India was chiefly the product of her hermitages in the solitude of the forests. It was not of the cities. The learning of the forests was embodied in the books specially designated as *Āraṇyakas*, "belonging to the forests." Indian civilization in its early stages, as stated above, had been mainly a rural, sylvan, and not an urban civilization.

Women and Kṣatriyas in Education. Two features in this educational system should not be missed. The first is the part taken in intellectual life by women like Gārgī, who could address a congress of philosophers on learned topics, or like Maitreyī, who had achieved the highest knowledge, that of Brahma. The Rgveda shows us some women as authors of hymns, such as Viśvavārā, Ghosā, and Apālā. The second feature is the part taken by Kṣatriyas in intellectual life, by kings as patrons and devotees of learning. The most famous of these was King Janaka of Videha, whose contributions to learning have been already indicated. There was also the Pāñcālā king, Pravāhana Jaivali, who taught Brāhmaṇa scholars like Śīlaka, Dālbya [*Chāndogya Up.*, i, 8], Śvetaketu, and his father Uddālaka [*ib.*, v, 3]. King Aśvapati Kaikeya was another learned king teaching Brāhmaṇa pupils [*ib.*, v, 11]. So also was King Pratardana [*Kausī. Br.*, xxvi, 5] or King Jānaśruti [*Chān. Up.*, iv, 1-3]. Nārada, the foremost Brāhmaṇa scholar, with all his learning, had to seek the instruction of Sanatkumāra on Ātman [*ib.*, vii, 1]. Sanatkumāra told Nārada that what he had hitherto studied was mere words, that he was a *Mantravrt* but not an *Ātmavrt*. The Ārunis, father and son, once sought the teachings of King Citra-Gāṅgāyani [*Kausītaki Up.*, i, 1]. Another learned king mentioned is Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa

[*Chāndogya Up.*]. Another was King Brāhadratha [*Maitrāyaṇi Up.*]. Ajātaśatru, King of Kāśī, was another very learned king whose superiority and pupilage were acknowledged by that distinguished Brāhmaṇa scholar, Dṛpṭa Bālāki Gārgya, whose fame for learning was known all over the country, to the Uśīnaras, Satvat Matsyas, Kuru-Pañcālas, and Kāśī-Videhas [*Brhad. Up.*, ii, 1, 1].

Education in the Mahābhārata. These ideals and practices of Vedic education were handed down through the ages and were responsible for the growth of the entire literature of ancient India which is so remarkable in its vastness and variety, range and quality. I shall conclude by reference to what I may call Epic education, the educational system adumbrated in the great epic of Mahābhārata, of which the Bhandarkar Institute has become so famous as the custodian and exponent. My references, however, to this education must necessarily be brief and selective.

An Āśrama and its departments. The Mahābhārata tells of numerous hermitages where pupils from distant parts gathered for instruction round some far-famed teacher. A full-fledged Āśrama is described as consisting of several departments which are enumerated as follows: (1) *Agnisthāna*, the place for fire worship and prayers; (2) *Brahma-sthāna*, the Department of Veda; (3) *Viṣṇusthāna*, the Department for teaching *Rāja-Nīti*, *Artha-Nīti*, and *Vārttā*; (4) *Mahendrasthāna*, Military Section; (5) *Vivasvat-sthāna*, Department of Astronomy; (6) *Soma-sthāna*, Department of botany; (7) *Garuḍa-sthāna*, Section dealing with transport and conveyances; (8) *Kārttikeya-sthāna*, section teaching military organization, how to form patrols, battalions, and army.

Naumiśāranya as a Centre of Education. The most important of such hermitages was that of the *Nimiṣa*, a forest which was like a University. The presiding personality of the place was Śaunaka, to whom was applied the designation of *Kulapati*, sometimes defined as the preceptor of 10,000 disciples. Śaunaka attracted to Naimisa a vast concourse of learned men by his performance of a twelve years' sacrifice, of which the most essential *aṅga* or accompaniment was the discourses and disputations of learned men on religious, philosophical, and scientific topics.

In one place [ix, 37] we read of "ascetics living at Naimi-sāranya being engaged in a sacrifice lasting for twelve years," on completion of which they set out in large numbers for visiting various sacred shrines of the country. In another place (*ib.*, 41) we have the same reference with the interesting additional information that, in the course of that twelve years' sacrifice, when a particular one called *Viśvajit* had been completed, the Rsis started for the country of the Pañcālas, and reaching there, requested the king to give them twenty-one strong and healthy calves to be given away as *dakṣiṇā* for the sacrifice they had finished.

Hermitage of Kanva. The hermitage of Kanva was another famous centre of learning, of which a full description is given [i, 70]. It is situated on the banks of the Mālinī, a tributary of the Sarayū river. It was not a solitary hermitage but an assemblage of numerous hermitages round the central hermitage of Rsi Kanva, the presiding spirit of the settlement. The entire forest was full of hearths where sacred fire was burning and resounding with the chanting or recitation of sacred texts by learned Brāhmanas. The wide range and variety of their studies is also indicated. There were specialists in every branch of learning cultivated in that age; specialists in each of the four Vedas; in sacrificial literature and art, Kalpa-sūtras; in the art of reciting the Samhitās according to the *Pada* and *Krama-pāṭha*, and in Orthoepey generally; and in *Śukṣā* (Phonetics), *Chandas* (Metrics), *Śabda*, (*Vyākaraṇa*), and *Nirukta*. There were also the philosophers well-versed in *Ātma-Vijñāna* (Science of the Absolute), in *Brahmopāsanā* (Worship of Brahma), in *Mokṣa-dharma* (the way to Salvation), and in *Lokāyata* (Vaiśeṣika). There were also logicians knowing the principles of *Nyāya*, and of *Dialectics* (the art of establishing propositions, solving doubts, and ascertaining conclusions). There were also specialists in the physical sciences and arts. There were, for example, experts in the art of constructing sacrificial altars of various dimensions and shapes (on the basis of a knowledge of solid geometry); those who had knowledge of the properties of matter (*dravya-guṇa*); of physical processes and their results; of causes and their effects; and zoologists having a special knowledge of

monkeys and birds. It was thus a forest university where the study of every branch of learning then known was cultivated.

Hermitage of Vyāsa. The hermitage of Vyāsa was another seat of learning. There Vyāsa "taught the Vedas to his disciples. Those disciples were the highly blessed Sumanta, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini of great wisdom, and Paila of great ascetic merit". They were afterwards joined by Śuka, the famous son of Vyāsa [xii, 328].

Other Hermitages. Among other hermitages noticed in the Mahābhārata may be mentioned those of Vasistha and Viśvāmitra [ix, 42], and that in the forest of Kāmyaka on the banks of the Sarasvatī [iii, 183].

Women-Hermits. But a hermitage near Kuruksetra [ix, 54] deserves special notice for the interesting fact recorded that it produced two noted women-hermits. There, "leading from youth the vow of Brahmacharya, a Brāhmaṇa maiden was crowned with ascetic success, and ultimately acquiring Yogic powers, she became a *tapas-siddhā*," while another lady, the daughter, not of a Brāhmaṇa but a Ksatriya, a child not of poverty but affluence, the daughter of a king, Śaṇḍilya by name, came to live there the life of celibacy and attained spiritual pre-eminence.

Learned Discussions at Sacrifices. Along with the hermitages in these sylvan retreats which were the stationary seats of learning, another great educative influence in the country was the occasional concourse of learned men gathered together at the courts and palaces of king for the sessions of sacrifices they used to celebrate with due pomp and liberality. The Upanisads, as we have already seen, are full of pictures of such learned congregations, which, in ancient India, played the principal part in the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. As may be expected, the Mahābhārata does not fail to notice this important type of educational institutions which constitute such a characteristic feature in the history of Indian pedagogic theory and practice, organization, and achievements.

Recitation of the Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata itself composed by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana was fully recited from day to day by Vaiśampāyana at the sacrifice of Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit,

which was attended by thousands of learned Brāhmanas. Again, it was at the sacrifice of Śaunaka at Naimisāranya that the Mahābhārata was repeated by Ugraśravā Sauti. Thus the celebration of these royal sacrifices was the principal agency for the promulgation and popularization of original literary works of national interest and importance.

The Upanisads also emphasize the other feature of these learned gatherings, viz, that they provided the arena where scholars seeking to establish their intellectual position entered the lists in tournaments of debate. This feature is also noticed by the Mahābhārata (iii, 132-4), where it is stated how learned Brāhmanas were flocking to the sacrifices of Janaka " for the purpose of listening to controversies " (and also to *Brahmaghosa*, recitation of the Vedas). Thither came Aṣṭāvakra eager to assert and establish his intellectual primacy, but the entrance to the Congress was barred by the gate-keeper, who, under orders of the learned chief Vandi, was to admit " only old and learned Brāhmanas. " Aṣṭāvakra had thus first to convince the gate-keeper of his eligibility for membership of that learned assembly, and addressed him as follows : " O Gate-keeper, you will today see me engaged in a controversial fight with all the learned men and get the better of Vandi himself in arguments. " In the end, Aṣṭāvakra came out victorious with his supremacy acknowledged by the entire assembly. Lastly, in this connection we may note the different classes of learned men distinguished [xii, 236, 18-20]. " Those who are acquainted with the Vedas are of two sorts, viz, those who lecture on the Vedas (*Pravakṛ*) and those who are otherwise (i. e. mere preceptors). The preceptors of the Vedas are of two sorts, viz, those who are conversant with the self and those that are otherwise. "

Some Interesting Problems in
MAHĀBHĀRATA TEXT-TRANSMISSION

By

S. K. BELVALKAR

Problem No. 1

The fourteenth chapter of the Bhīṣmaparvan in the Vulgate or Nīlakaṇṭha recension of the Mahābhārata¹ consists of a series of stanzas where the blind and aged Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who had just heard of Bhīṣma's fall, is mournfully asking questions after questions seeking details of the incident. The questions are inconsequential; there is no regular topical order in them, so that almost any set of questions can change place with any other, or a new subsidiary series of questions can be added, and some of the existing ones omitted, without in any way affecting the context. Nevertheless, one does not normally expect to find, even in such a loose context, two almost identically worded stanzas repeated at an interval of some thirty stanzas. But we are confronted with just such a repetition in this chapter, seeing that GK stanzas 25-26 (absent in the Crit. Ed.) and GK lines 57cd-59ab (= Crit. Ed. 53-54) are practically identical. This GK repetition is found in ten² out of the fifty-nine Mss. of the Parvan actually examined for the Critical Edition. These Mss. are all written in Devānāgarī characters, and hail from distant places such as

1 In the B. O. R. Institute's Critical Edition this chapter is numbered 15. The Nīlakaṇṭha recension was first published by Ganpat Krishnaji in Bombay in 1862. The references in the following paper are to the 1863 reprint of GK, but I have added in every case the stanza numbers according to the Crit. Ed. in parentheses.

2 Of these ten, only four have been reported in the Critical Apparatus: namely, Da¹ (482 of Viś. I, with Arjunamiśra's comm.); Dn¹ (483 of Viś. I, with Nīlakaṇṭha's comm.); Dn² (Indore Ms., with Nīl. comm.); and D⁴ (Tanjore Ms. dated A. D. 1566). The remaining six are: Baroda Or. Institute No. 6540; No. 29B of A1879-80; Sangli Ms. dated A. D. 1705; Baroda No. 11317 dated A. D. 1736, Lahore No. 383 (with Nīl. comm.); and Lahore No. 1407 dated A. D. 1806.

Tanjore, Sangli, Poona, Baroda, Indore, and Lahore, the oldest of them being dated 1566 and the latest 1806. This means that the repetition is not sporadic, but has been current for at least 300 to 400 years, and has spread itself over a very large area in the course of the copying and re copying from manuscripts. The remaining forty-nine Mss. omit the stanzas in the *earlier* place, but retain them in the *later* place. The problem to solve is, how were these two stanzas shifted from the later to the earlier place. It can be of course plausibly urged that in lamentation repetition is bound to occur ; but why should it be found in the Mss. written in one script (the Devanāgarī), while it is absent in the majority of Mss. written in other scripts, as well as in a few written in Devanāgarī itself ? One cannot reasonably argue that these ten Mss. (i. e., ultimately, the parent of them all) felt the repetition and so made the omission ; for, in such a case, one expects the omission of the *later* and not of the *earlier* stanzas. The repetition accordingly must have been accidental in some old (not necessarily Devanāgarī) Ms., from which, directly or mediately, it came to be copied by, amongst others, the ten Mss. before us.

One way to explain the repetition would be, in the first place, to suppose that by the sticking together, in the parent Ms., of two adjacent folios, there was an accidental turning of them over as one folio. This does happen at times even in our printed books, and is much more likely to happen in old Mss. the folios of which were uneven in thickness, and written upon with an ink having some sticky substance mixed with it. As a result of this turning over of a double leaf, the scribe will have omitted the reverse side of the preceding folio and the obverse side of the following folio. Such an omission can remain undetected by the scribe (and the reader) *if* (a) there is nothing in the context or the subject matter to arrest attention : and this is so in the present lamentation, where any set of questions can occur before or after ; and *if* (2) the end of the obverse side of the earlier folio (after which point the omission commences) and the beginning of the reverse side of the following folio (at which point the omission ends) coincide, respectively, with the completion of one line or stanza, and the commencement of a fresh line or stanza—as does happen in Mss. quite frequently. For, in case only

half a line or half a word had been reached at the point where the omission began, and, after the intervening portion, the new folio had not completed the incomplete line or word, the lacuna could not have remained undetected. Another equally plausible way to explain the repetition would be to suppose that an entire intervening folio was misplaced, and that, after copying one folio to the end, the scribe went on to copy the folio after the next, nothing in the context having arrested his attention. The matter omitted by this accidental sticking together of the reverse side and the obverse side of two adjacent folia—or, under the alternative supposition, by the unnoticed skipping over of one entire folio—covers 59 (or 61) half-stanzas. This is a quite normal extent for an average Mahābhārata Ms., when we consider that a line of its writing often covers more than one stanza, and 20 lines of text to a page or side is by no means unusual.

Any one of the above alternative suppositions can adequately explain the omission of the thirty-odd stanzas ; but we want an explanation of the repetition of just the two stanzas separated by them. True. But the omission accident forms the basis of the repetition accident. For the latter, an additional supposition has to be made. Let us now suppose that the scribe who has made the above omission, after writing two stanzas from the reverse side of the following folio—or, alternatively, the obverse side of the folio after the next—(namely, GK 57cd, 58ab, 58cd, and 59ab = Crit. Ed. 53-54), somehow detects his mistake and succeeds in separating the sticking folios, or, restores the misplaced folio to its right place. What is he to do now ? He has copied two unwanted stanzas on a page where other stanzas might have been already written by him. So he could not afford to waste his labour which had a money value, nor the writing material, which was scarce. Hence he naturally proposes to obliterate these two wrongly copied extra stanzas by painting them over with yellow pigment, as was customary, and in the meantime continue the writing in the natural sequence of the original, as if no extra stanzas had been copied. In the course of this continuation, as he, after copying the previously omitted $29\frac{1}{2}$ or $30\frac{1}{2}$ stanzas, reaches, the two extra-copied stanzas in their natural sequence, he copies them there of course ; for, the earlier extra copy was intended to

be obliterated. Now, the yellow-pigment erasures were usually made at the end of the morning's or the evening's writing, and it is not too much to suppose that, of the erasures to be made, one may have remained accidentally unnoticed. This exactly will give you the situation as we actually find it in the ten Devanāgarī Mss. which copied the repetition from the parent Ms. that made the above mistake, or from the copies of that manuscript. And once the two identical stanzas had obtained legitimate places of their own in the chapter, one earlier and one later, it is quite conceivable that a few variant readings like *aśmasāra*° for *adri-sāra*°, *satya*m ca for *astrāṇi*, and *Bharatarsabhe* for *Puruṣarṣabhe* should have crept therein in the course of the copying activity of generations of scribes.

Sarasvatī, the tutelary Goddess of the scribes, seems to have been in a particularly mischievous mood just with reference to this very passage of our adhyāya, and so has caused another accident to overtake it. This time the Devanāgarī copyists were out of it : it was the turn of the Kashmiri copyists. The "repetition" accident of the ten Devanāgarī Mss. is of course unknown to all other versions : but just at about the *middle point* of the passage which, in the first accident, got omitted by the sticking together of two adjacent sides of two folios (or, alternatively, by the skipping over of one intervening folio), i. e., at the end of GK stanza 42 (= 38 of the Crit. Ed.), a curious transposition has taken place with the result that the 31 lines or half-stanzas ending with GK 42 (i. e., Crit. Ed. 24-38=GK 27-42: in GK 30cd is extra) and the 29 lines or half-stanzas ending with GK 57ab (i. e., Crit. Ed. 39-52=GK 43-57ab) have in nine Mss.¹ changed their place. The Critical Edition adopts the GK sequence, but the nine Mss. in question read GK 43-57½ (= Crit. Ed. 39-52)

1 All these nine Mss. are included in the Crit. Apparatus: Ś1 (a Śāradā Ms. from Calcutta dated A. D. 1709); Ko (an undated Ahmednagar Ms. written in the Kashmiri style Devanāgarī; K1 (No. 3226 (2137) of the India Office Library, written in the same style and dated A. D. 1782); K2 and K3 (in the possession of the B. O. R. Institute, dated respectively A. D. 1771 and 1694); K5 (originally from Hyderabad (Deccan) and dated A. D. 1686); D1 (hailing from Adyar and dated A. D. 1505-6); D2 (belonging to the Poona Viśrāmbāg Collection, dated A. D. 1672-73); and D7 (an undated Ms. from Baroda).

first, and GK 27-42 (= Crit. Ed. 24-38) afterwards. The flow of sentiments would seem to be distinctly in favour of the order in GK, which is followed by all other Mss. except the nine above described. The problem to explain (which in a way is related to the earlier one) is, how has this transposition taken place?

We have given two alternative explanations for the omission which was the basis of the "repetition" accident. Both explanations are equally plausible, but, in view of this second accident overtaking the self-same passage, it is better to choose the second explanation of the skipping over of an entire folio owing to its being misplaced. In Kashmirian Mss. (both birchbark and paper) which are generally bound like a modern book, nothing is more usual than the loosening of an intermediate leaf or folio. Such a loose folio can very easily get misplaced. The folio-numbers it was customary to write only on the reverse side, so that through inattention the scribe can easily begin copying the obverse side of a wrong folio, if there be nothing in the context to arrest the attention, which, *ex hypothesi*, was the case in this chapter of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's lament. If we now make one other small supposition, namely, that the portion of the lower margin of the loose folio in question on which the folio number was written got peeled off or broken—a no unusual supposition with birchbark Mss.—the folio in such a case could by chance be placed with the reverse side turned upwards, seeing that in birchbark Mss. the two side-margins have generally the same width. In such a case, by the copying of the reverse side first and the obverse side afterwards, the transposition which confronts us in the nine Mss. can easily take place, particularly if we remember that each of the two groups of stanzas involved in the transposition is just sufficient to cover any *one* side of the folio. The "repetition" accident was confined to Devanāgarī group of Mss. This "transposition" accident is confined to Mss. belonging to the Śāradā and the Kashmiri groups. The Southern Mss. as such are entirely innocent of both these accidents.

And now, on the wake of the above two "accidents" we meet with a third! With the hypothesis of a loose folio with the missing folio-number, it would become very difficult to say, in course of time, which was the obverse side of the folio and which the reverse

side,—given the two fundamental assumptions already made of loose context, and of coincidence of line-ending with page-ending. The nine Mss. of the transposition accident copied the reverse side first and the obverse afterwards. It is possible to come across a Ms. that would copy the reverse side, and fail to inadvertently copy the obverse side altogether! We do actually find one such Ms. It is designated K⁴, but it is a Bengali Ms. from Dacca of about 200 years old. This Bengali Ms. does not go with the other Bengali Mss. collated for the Critical Edition, but often sides with the Kashmiri Mss. in the matter of variant readings, of inserted or omitted lines, and of the division and composition of adhyāyas. Although written in Bengali, it is in the Critical Edition put under K group. The evidence for doing this is much too complicated for being presented in this place.

These (10+9+1 =) 20 Mss. that exhibit the three accidents of repetition, transposition and omission presuppose a parent Ms. with a loosened folio with missing folio-number, which got misplaced. From this parent Ms. have descended one class of Mss. in which the misplacement was detected after two subsequent stanzas had been copied; another class in which the folio was placed with the wrong side up; and a third (which really comes under the second class) which omitted the copying of one of the two sides altogether. It is of course not necessary to suppose that the parent Ms. remained intact through all these vicissitudes involving a considerable amplitude of both time and space. And the circumstance that no Ms. representing the Southern Recension should have been involved in these three more or less related accidents, but that representatives of the Northern Recension (Śāradā, Kashmiri, Devanāgarī and even Bengali) alone should have been so involved, might, *quantum valeat*, support the theory adopted in the Critical Edition of only two main Recensions of the Mahābhārata text-transmission, the Northern and the Southern.

PROGRESS AND INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

BY

P. T. RAJU

सत्याय सत्यकामाय सत्यार्थहितभाषिणे । सत्यान्वेषणधीराय सर्वस्मै सर्वदा नमः ॥
दर्शनं तत्त्वशास्त्रं चेत् तत्त्वं यद्यपि न द्वयम् । तथाऽपि चित्तभेदेन दर्शनानां भिदा भवेत् ॥
काले काले तु वस्तुनां विज्ञानं वर्धते भुवि । तस्मादस्मत्प्रतीतौ च परिणामोऽपि जायते ॥
ततस्तत्त्वार्थबोधेऽपि संतुष्टिरनुमीयते । तद्वृद्धेरितिहासस्तु दर्शनानामपि ध्रुवम् ॥
विद्याविनयसंपन्नाः निर्जितस्वान्तकल्मषाः । परार्थज्ञानानिष्णाताः एतज्ज्ञानन्तु सर्वदा ॥

The recent controversy about research in Indian philosophy has brought to the forefront certain important points about which there seems to be some confused thinking. One of them is the idea of progress with reference to Indian philosophy. Can Indian Philosophy have any further development? Or has it reached its culmination several centuries ago and will progress no farther? The importance of the question would be seen when the present condition of philosophical studies in India, not only in general but also as regards Indian philosophy in particular, is considered. The number of students interested in philosophy is gradually diminishing. In some quarters the usefulness of the subject is being questioned. Its cultural value and its value as a formal discipline are ridiculed, - which evidently means that the importance of philosophy for present-day culture is not seen. If the encouragement which a subject receives is proportional to its usefulness to society, then it must be said that people are becoming less and less prone to recognise social usefulness in philosophy.

Not only philosophy but also almost all other higher studies are not of immediate use. Many provide only intellectual satisfaction. But intellectual satisfaction may be of two kinds. One is due to synthesis and organisation of knowledge, which gives depth to thought and personality. This organisation is the organisation of factual knowledge, which therefore reveals either mediate or immediate connection with life in its concrete surroundings. The other kind of satisfaction is derived from the

solution of intellectual puzzles artificially created, as examples of which we may cite some of the speculations of the Neo-Nyaya and the modern logical positivist. It should however be borne in mind that there is no sharp and clear-cut distinction between the two kinds of satisfaction, and that the latter is not absolutely useless as it helps clarification of many ideas and their relationships. Its speculations may appear to be revolving in vacuum; yet they must have started with some facts and can be traced to some ideas formed about them. But due to a kind of fallacious overweighting of certain ideas these speculations at some stage lose touch with facts and become empty and uninteresting to all except a few.

Philosophy as a higher study should endeavour to provide the former kind of satisfaction if it is to retain its past position in the universities. It should be able to show its relation to the life of the time: it should appear as the life of the time reflecting upon itself. If it appears as the life of some other time, it ceases to have interest or the interest we take in it would be antiquarian. If its speculations are subtle enough they may appear pleasing though empty; yet they appear disconnected from facts as we understand them.

There are some writers who question whether a pot (*ghata*), for instance, appeared differently in different ages. These writers evidently take a very naive view of facts. The pot might have been used for the same purpose in different ages; but our understanding of it has undoubtedly differed. The primitive animist must have worshipped it before using; and even now among some of the orthodox Hindus the custom of choosing an auspicious day for using a new pot prevails. But as a result of materialistic science we are now looking upon it as pure mud and matter. And physics, when its reasonings have reached their limits, is now prone to attribute will to electrons and protons, which compose matter. Our understanding of the pot is therefore certainly changing with the times.

However, it is not from the pot as pot or the cow as cow that we proceed to infer about Truth. We raise questions like, What is matter? What is life? What is mind? and What is the relation between them and have they ultimately a common source? In order to answer these questions enquiries were made about the

nature of the world. Whether in India or outside, unless Truth was revealed through some mystic process, whenever philosophy argued about ultimate Truth, its conclusions had to be derived from the nature of the world. Even in the case of mystic revelation or *darśana* of the final Truth, the same Truth has been expressed differently according to the mental make-up of the *darśakas*. And their mental make-up was determined by their intellectual heritage and atmosphere.

One suspects the presence in some Indian writers of the opinion that the procedure from the nature of the world to the ultimate Truth is empty speculation, while the reverse procedure is *darśana* or philosophy as understood by the ancient Indians. Whether the latter procedure is logical is a fundamental question that may be asked. Further, such procedure is not completely foreign to European philosophy, which, it is wrongly thought in India, is nothing but mere speculation. The whole of Medieval philosophy is an elaborate apologetics in favour of Christian revelation. Even in Modern philosophy Spinoza's *Ethics* is a reasoned defence of God-consciousness. And Hegel in his *Philosophy of Religion* maintains that the subject matter of both religion and philosophy is the same ultimate Truth. The whole idealistic tradition in Western philosophy stands for close contact between life and reason, and treats philosophy as life reflected upon itself or as life that has become self-conscious. It may be admitted that in modern European philosophy there is a strong emphasis upon synthetic construction. But every synthetic construction is not empty speculation. It becomes so when some principle, taken as basic, is not really basic and important.

The truth seems to be rather that some of these Indian writers treat what is only a difference of degree as a difference of kind and conclude therefrom that Western philosophy and the Indian are fundamentally different and that the latter should not be studied on the same lines as the former. It is a hasty conclusion. For the study of any philosophy, whether Indian or Western, can be carried on only according to rational methods and, whether willingly or unwillingly, even these critics adopt them. And these methods, so far as the general opinion of the educated world goes, have been rendered most systematic by modern Western thinkers. Even the differences between the Western

and the Indian philosophy are discovered with the help of these methods. We pride ourselves in having rendered our treatment "scientific" by using them and we teach our philosophy according to them. It would be without avail therefore to rail against them.

It is true that after understanding the concepts or categories of a system, *nididhyāsana* etc., are prescribed; but I doubt very much whether the prescription is followed in any Indian university, whether any university possesses a professor who is capable of guiding students in following it, whether it is advisable to follow it in universities, and finally whether any of these critics is competent to teach these procedures. To be frank, if these procedures are to be insisted upon, it would be better that Indian philosophy is abolished from our universities and the interested students are advised to seek suitable *gurus*. Further, if the students are finally to be given the *aparokṣānubhūti* or *dārśana* of the Brahman, then no logical study of the systems is necessary; for has not Śaṅkara himself said,

शब्दजालं महारण्यं चित्तभ्रमणकारणम्।

Hence this line of criticism directed against the methods of studying Indian philosophy leads only into a blind alley and is suicidal. Whether a system aims at *aparokṣānubhūti* or a logical reconstruction of the world, our only mode of study should be according to rational principles. Philosophy therefore, so far as constructive, cannot but be speculative; on the other hand, it is essential that it should be speculative. Indian philosophy, differs in general from the Western not in being non-logical and unspeculative but in promising to lead beyond speculation through the practice of Yoga, which we may call practical mysticism. Its practices are common to all systems,—which shows that these systems are constructed independently of them. Hence though all the *dārśanas* are perceptions of the same reality the form or the categorial scheme in which each is expressed differs from the rest. That is, the logical structure of reality as understood by the *dārśanas* is different for each though the reality understood is the same for all. How can this happen unless their logics, through which reality is understood and perceived, differ? And how can their logics differ unless the

intellectual atmospheres in which the systems grew differ? These intellectual atmospheres might have belonged to different countries or different *āśramas*, they might be synchronous and mutually critical or one may succeed another; yet that the intellectual atmospheres determined the logical structure of the systems cannot be gainsaid. Writers, both old and new, who tried to trace the logical connections between the systems now and then expressed the opinion that different systems suit different *adhikāris* and that their own system suits the highest *adhikāri*. Mādhavācārya in his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* believes that the advaita is the highest, but Haribhadrāsūri in his *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya* believes otherwise. The very fact that there is no unanimity about the gradation of *adhikāri*hood shows that it is not completely true. It should not be meant that the followers of Nyāya or Madhva, unless they believe at a later stage in the advaita, cannot attain salvation. Again, the assertion that each system gives only an aspect of reality seems to be very crudely understood even by the modern critics. Their misunderstanding is strengthened by the popular example of the elephant and the blind men, each blind man taking the elephant for the tail, the trunk, the leg and so forth. That is, these critics seem to understand "aspect" as they understand the side of a cube or part of a chair. But each system comprehends the whole of reality, not merely a part of it, though it understands the whole in terms of its own logic or categorial scheme. The higher system means greater consistency and deeper grasp of the concepts and their presuppositions. But now, what is the criterion of this consistency and depth? Each system has its own, which is determined by the intellectual atmosphere in which it took form. Hence to assign the different systems to different grades of *adhikāris* is of doubtful rationality. The gradations of *adhikāri*hood are based upon considerations of moral and mental development, and however high the *adhikāri* he will find the discussions of Jagadīśa and Gaḍadhara as difficult as the dialectic of Nāgārjuna or Śrīharṣa.

Hence the difference between systems is due to different categorial schemes, which sometimes succeed one another and sometimes develop together. The reality which all systems study is

the same. It may be transcendent, immanent, or both. Every intelligent student of philosophy, therefore, who is not incapacitated by prejudices and narrowness of outlook, can see that progress of philosophy need not mean progress of Truth, which is eternal.¹ Unfortunately, truth means ultimate reality as well as the truth of our categorial scheme and of even ordinary propositions. How in the cognition of the ultimate Truth, truth and reality are one is a metaphysical problem too profound to enter into in this article. But the direct perception or *darśana* or *aparokṣānubhūti* of Truth can never be a categorial scheme and we have no systems in that experience. The literal meaning of the word *darśana*, which means both the direct preception or *aparokṣānubhūti* and a system of philosophy is really confusing and misleading many interpreters, who as a result see absolute difference between Indian and Western thought. If *darśana* means *direct perception* of Truth, then it can lead to no differences between systems, for in it concepts do not operate. If it means *understanding* then different categorial schemes come to work, and we shall have many systems. This point should always be kept in mind.

When therefore we have to admit different categorial schemes, we have to admit progress of philosophy also. Not only will there be development in particular schools, but also will new schools spring up, because the basic concepts will differ from age to age. And all systems give us the ultimate Truth and its relation to the world around us. And as our understanding of the world differs from age to age, our basic concepts and categorial schemes also differ. As a result our *understandings* of Truth also will differ. Yet these understandings can be *darśanas*. For instance, Spencer's synthetic philosophy and agnosticism may very well be made into a *darśana*; only something has to be added to his agnosticism, which will thereby be modified.

And acceptance of such principles will not preclude a man from *aparokṣajñāna*. Yet the concept of evolution is basic to the system of Spencer, while in none of the Indian systems it is so. Similarly, Whitehead's organic philosophy may be turned into

¹ There are European thinkers who question even this; but the majority of them do not. We need not however discuss this point at present.

a *darśana*. In a sense even European philosophy is *darśana*. A philosopher is said to be the spectator of all existence, which means that philosophy is *darśana* which is eternal.¹ However to base our arguments entirely on the etymological meanings of words or on meanings which they are occasionally given would be frivolous unless we grasp their inner significance. Much of the controversy is due to emotional associations of terms and a superficial understanding of their meaning.

It is in the change and growth of basic concepts that the life of the times plays the most important part. When it is said that philosophy is intimately connected with life, the life that is referred to is not the biological life merely, nor is it the unassuming life of the country people. It is of the cultured ones, of those who have begun to reflect. The hill tribes who live by hunting and the savages that roam naked in their country rarely think about philosophical problems. Their mode of life does not directly give rise to philosophical topics. In India what gave rise to them were the miseries of the world. Whether the desire is to escape from them or to control and remove them, unless life is felt to be complex men do not begin to reflect. So much is implied in the view of some contemporary logicians that thinking begins with the negative judgment or at least the feeling of negation. What is complex to our ancestors may appear simple to us. But some felt complexity should be present at the source of philosophical thought. This complexity and the consequent conflict may be felt in religious practices, social customs, intellectual atmospheres and so forth. Even the sages who retired to forests must have felt one or the other. And the simplicity of life which they preached was for the sake of high thinking which they practised. And their thinking was done in concepts which belonged to their cultural surroundings.

The life that determines philosophy includes not only the social and political forms, but also the intellectual. And the inte-

¹ From the other side we may ask whether the *Cārvākadarśana* is also a *darśana* or a direct perception of the *ātman* or Brahman, and if it is not, why it is called a *darśana*. Will it not be better to interpret the word as what presents reality to our intellect, reality again being understood as what is understood by our thought as such? At the level of our intellect can this vicious circle ever be avoided?

Intellectual is the most important, because philosophy belongs to intellect in the main. The conceptual scheme of any age is determined by the scientific thought of the time, and in the present age it is this that is determining even the social and political forms. Not to recognise this feature of our life is to be blind to facts and to betray one's ignorance. In spite of change in conceptual schemes one may be an *advaitin* or a *dvaitin*. But unless truths are expressed in current concepts they lose their appeal.

In this progress of our philosophical activity, we should have the courage to reject what is false and accept what is true, even though the truth may be new. We should not forget what our classical poet said :

पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वम् ।
न चापि सर्वं (काव्यं) नवमित्यवयम् ॥

There are writers who think that everything of ancient Indian thought is true and that their truth is proved by *nididhyāsana*. We have to ask them whether *nididhyāsana* has proved the truth of every thing which the systems preached, and whether the *nididhyāsana* of all has given the same result. I wonder whether these enthusiasts hold that the *pāka* theory of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is scientifically true and whether their *nididhyāsana* tells them that both the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika views on the point are equally true in spite of differences. Similarly, does their *nididhyāsana* reveal the truth of the Naiyāyika view that the *ātman* in its liberated state is without consciousness and of the Sāṃkhya view that it is conscious? These questions are raised to show the need that in philosophy reason should be given preference to prejudice. Our pronouncements should be based upon the former. The latter leads to falsity and betrays us.¹

¹ An example is Mm. Dr. Umesh Mishra's denial of progress in Indian philosophy and in the same breath his praise of Mm. Panchanana Tarkaratna's new contribution to Indian thought. One wonders what the world of thinkers who judge our writing by rational standards think of this inconsistency.

Had Dr. Mishra, who is deadly opposed to philosophical progress in this country and stubbornly refuses to see any change in the modes of our life, kept himself in some touch with the conceptual changes occurring in the world of modern thought, he would have despaired of the existence of philosophy and philosophical activity in our country. It is blindness to historical

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The student of Indian philosophy is therefore under the special obligation of bringing Indian thought into line with the Western,—which should therefore be the main object of his research, though unfortunately some superficial writers have tried to read many Western ideas, both scientific and philosophical, into our ancient texts. But that some people commit mistakes in a particular type of work does not lessen its importance. We should see not only similarities but also differences between Western and Indian thinkers and should study these similarities and differences systematically. That is, our comparative study, as I have been repeatedly advocating, should be systematic and not piecemeal.¹

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facts to say that the Muslims, the Buddhists and the Jainas have produced "no change whatever in the philosophical outlook of the the country". To put just one question, Why is Śaṅkara called a *pracchannabauddha*? This and such other of Dr. Mishra's statements are so apparently false that they require no special criticism. Again, one has to ask competent historians, scholars and thinkers whether the activities of the Buddhists and the Jainas "have been detrimental to the interests of Indian thought and people", as Dr. Mishra thinks (See his article in the *Modern Review*, April, 1944) Perhaps Dr. Mishra opines that Christianity also has wielded no beneficial influence on the Indians. In answer one has only to draw attention to the social and political ferment in the country, to the rise of Vīraśaivism, Sikhism, the Brahma Samaj, and Arya Samaj, and to the internal reforms which the Hindus are voluntarily introducing into their community.

¹ I should like to take this occasion to say a word about my article in *The Progress of Indic Studies*. Many authors, both of books and articles, could not be mentioned in it, as the space allotted to the subject of Indian Philosophy was from sixteen to twenty-four pages. The readers may easily see that I filled twenty four pages completely, though I was not able to say even one sentence each about the books I could include. I had therefore to be content with a general discussion of the lines along which research in Indian philosophy is being carried; and in the discussion I used my own standards of evaluation, for which, again, I gave my reasons.

One hasty critic found fault with one for not including Sir B. N. Seal's work. He does not seem to have even noticed the scope of the article, which dealt with the work done during 1917-42, whereas Dr. Seal's book, *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, was published in 1915. And the critic seems to have completely overlooked one point. Dr. Seal never meant his book to be a book on comparative philosophy. Its aim, in his own words, is "to furnish the historians of the special sciences with new material". It may be a preliminary, so far as the history of his own activity is concerned, to

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Though Indian philosophy is part of Indology, yet research in Indian philosophy is not similar on all points to research in subjects like *Paiśācī* or *Ardhamāgadhī*. *Paiśācī* and *Ardhamāgadhī* are dead languages, but Indian philosophy is still having a life, though not so vigorous as it used to have. And as India is still living, the Indians want a living philosophy. In one respect research in Indian philosophy is similar to that in Indian history. Workers on ancient Indian history are emphasizing more and more the difference between archaeology and history. They maintain that research in archaeology as such is not research in Indian history, but is only a handmaid to it. There are several other helps which one who is reconstructing Indian history has to take, and the reconstruction has its own principles, which have to trace the connection which the ancient period has with the Muslim and the British. Similarly, ancient Indian thought has to be reconstructed, which of course does not mean turning it into Platonism or Aristotelianism, but presenting it according to certain scientific methods borrowed from Western philosophy. The philosophy so reconstructed should be developed and brought into close contact with modern life. Unfortunately, the words "Indological research" have the tinge of the antiquarian, and the important difference between Indian philosophy and some non-living subjects is missed. In another respect Indian philosophy differs even from ancient Indian history. The latter is a reconstruction of the past, which is no more; but Indian philosophy is having an existence, however precarious. We have

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his projected work, "studies in comparative philosophy", which unfortunately he never brought out. But one can easily see that positive sciences or special sciences are not philosophy and Hindu speculations did not begin with the positive sciences as such but with the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.

It would probably be more correct to regard Dr. Seal as one of the first to advocate and encourage comparative studies both in philosophy and the special sciences, rather than as one who did actually work on comparative philosophy, for he never brought out his proposed book. And thereby we do not underestimate his scholarship. He is really a pioneer in comparative science, not merely as a patron but as actually a writer on the subject. He indeed gave us a good study of the scientific concepts and methods of ancient India and the study does contain some topics discussed in philosophy as well.

only to connect the ancient period of Indian history with the Muslim and the British; but we have to reconstruct and develop our ancient thought and make it comprehend all our *life's* modes.

It is such considerations that have led me to advocate often that philosophical activity in India should now pass through a period of systematic comparison. Such work will bring the individuality of our ancient thought into clearer and more definite perspective. Some Western scholars like Masson-Oursel, Heilmann etc., have worked on the subject. But it is likely that Indians themselves will not be satisfied with what foreigners say. Unless many competent Indian scholars, well qualified both in Indian and Western thought, take up the subject and study it both extensively and intensively, the next important stage for philosophical activity cannot be set. Indian philosophical activity has already passed through the editing of texts, translation, exposition and interpretation. We should say that the present period is really the period of comparison, and reconstruction has already begun. Yet it should be said that comparison has not reached the development it ought to, when reconstruction can be in full swing. It should not however be thought that future stages like reconstruction and new synthesis should wait until comparison has reached its fullest development and that the earlier types of work have already ceased to be or should cease to be. All types may be carried on in the same period, but the weight of emphasis should shift from one to another. In literature, for instance, one who now writes the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Sanskrit may be a great scholar, but one who writes an important novel that touches on contemporary life will receive greater recognition. The reason is simple: no more works on the *Rāmāyaṇa* are needed, while perspectives of contemporary life, its ideas and achievements, are in demand, so that society may understand how it is living. Not that the ideals of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have ceased to be ideals; only we have to show how these ideals are to work in modern conditions. Similar is the case with philosophy.

VIDYĀSĀGARA'S COMMENTARY ON THE
MAHĀBHĀRATA
BY

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA

Sometime ago the Varendra Research Museum at Rajshahi acquired the fragment of a work named *Jayakumudī* by Vidyāsāgara—a closely written paper Ms. containing 67 folios with 10-11 lines in each page and more than 100 letters in each line—(Ms. No. 1898). It is by far the most extensive commentary ever written on the Mahābhārata. The author had access to almost a bewildering mass of Mahābhārata literature and indulges from the very start with learned discussions on textual variations from a large number of texts and commentaries collected from different parts of Eastern India. The writing is about 150 years old and there are lacunae in fol. 15-24, showing that the scribe was unable to secure a reliable copy. We would tentatively place the author about 1700 A. D. The fragment goes up to Chap. 69 only of the Ādiparvan (according to Nilakantha's version).

Begins :— विमोहयन् वंशवरेण गोपिका व्यनोदययो भगवानधीशः ।

तस्मै नमो धर्मविमुक्तिहेतवे यमाहुरार्या हरिमव्ययं विभुम् ॥१॥

अनन्यानन्दसम्भारसन्मात्रास्त्रादनिर्वृतं ।

महार्णवमहापोतं कृष्णद्वैपायनं नुमः ॥ २ ॥

प्रणम्य गुरुमात्मानं मन्त्रदेवस्वरूपिणं ।

साधयान्ति परं तत्त्वं तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ ३ ॥

मोहान्धतमसाच्छन्नसत्पथप्रतिपत्तये ।

विद्यासागरधीरेण निर्मिता जयकौमुदी ॥ ४ ॥

यद्यपि प्रतिपाद्येषु सन्ति वाचः सतां मताः ।

तथापि तत्कृतैरर्थव्याख्या प्रख्यायते मया ॥ ५ ॥

अत्र श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञटीकायां पाश्चात्यादिपुस्तकेषु च नमस्कारक्रमो यथा

ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय.....इति क्रमिकनमस्कारपञ्चकं मंगलार्थमेव विघ्नध्वंसकत्वेन समाप्तिहेतुत्वाद् ग्रन्थाङ्गतयोक्तमिति सर्वज्ञार्जुनौ । यत्तु केपुचित् पुस्तकेषु 'नारायणं नमस्कृत्य.....' तदनु नमस्कारपञ्चकं दृश्यते तल्लेखक-प्रमादाद्धेयं । गौडीयसाम्प्रदायिका अप्येवमिति कृतं पल्लवितेन ।

The Manuscripts consulted by the author are :—

(1) *Rāḍhiya* (fol. 3^a, 11^a, 22^a, 59^a) (2) *Gauḍiya* (fol. 4^b, 11^a, 17^a, 26^b) (3) *Vārendra* (fol. 22^b) (4) *Kāmarūpiya* (3^a, 8^b, 12^a, 17^a, 26, 51^a, 65^b) (5) *Maithila* (20^b) (6) *Pāscātya* (2^b, 15^a, 17^a, 44^b) (7) *Dokhaṇḍiya* (7^b, 9^b, 10^a, 17^a, 19^b—इति पाठो दो-का-पुस्तकयः, 26^a 31^b, 34^b, 36^a, 41^b, 46^b, 50^b) (8) *Rājagirīya* (12^a, 22^a, 46^a, 52^a) (9) *Hogalavāḍiyyā-sampradāya-pustakeṣu* (17^a). Numerous copies of each of these classes of manuscripts were secured. Cf. प्रचुरतरगौडादिपुस्तकविरोधाच्च (26^b), प्रायो गौडीयः (61^b). The author seems to have greater respect for 'western' Mss. cf. under the explanation of the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य (2^b) — द्वितीय "चैव" स्थाने तु दोखंडीय-श्रीभागवते व्यासमिति पाठः । स तु न पठ्यते पाश्चात्यादि-साम्प्रदायिकपुस्तकविरोधात् ।

An alphabetical list of the authorities cited in the fragment is given below with a few interesting quotations.

Anupadākāra (55^b) ancient grammarian of Pāṇini schools.

Arjuna (fol. 1, 10^b, 40^a, 51^b)

Upādhyāya (15^b, 39^b) grammarian.

Uvata (25^a — षट्कर्क आगमाश्चैव पुराणानि स्मृतिस्तथा ।

इतिहासश्चिकित्सादिरुपाङ्गानि प्रचक्षते ॥ इत्युवटोक्तानि)

Kokkṛṣṭa (64^a)

Kṣīrasvāmī (51^a)

Caturbhujamīśra (2^a, 2^b, &c. often)

Cāndrāḥ (42^a, 65^a)

Jayamaṅgalā (2^a—Sāṃkhyatīkāyām re. meanings of *anumādi*)

Jagaddhara (2^b) comm. on the Mahābhārata.

Janārdana (2^b & 39^b) *ibid.*

Tārapāla (17^a— कण्डूः कण्डुश्च दृश्यते इति तारपालद्विरूपात्, 20^b)

Durga (9^b) grammarian.

Devabodha (1, 2^b &c. often)

Deva (svāmi) (2^a, 5^a, 8^b, 26^b, 65^b)

Dhātupradīpa (20^b)

Nāmānuśāsana (2^b) a lexicon.

Nārāyaṇa-sarvajña 1^a) v. l. sarvajña.

Nirghaṇṭa (3a)

Nyāyatīkārtah (32b)

Nyāsa (14b, 20a, 28a)

Bhāgavṛtti (50b :—यत्तु वर्त्तमानत्वेन भूतत्वस्य बाधनमिति भागवृत्तिमतं तदतीव मन्दं विषयभेदे बाध्यबाधकाभावात् । अत्र तु विभक्तिभेदेन फलत्वाभेद इति मण्डनाचार्यमतानुसारेण क्रमः ।

Maṇḍana (50b)

Mahāvṛtti i. e. Kāśikā (20a)

Misra (2b, 7a, 8ab, 10a &c.) : neither Caturbhuja nor Arjuna.

Muni (1a, 12a, 22b, 58a) comm. on the Mahābhārata.

Rasārṇava (66a :—तथा च रसाण्वः, रतिकाले यदा माता चक्षुषि मुद्रिता भवेत् । तदान्वं जायतेऽपत्यं मातृदोषेण नित्यशः॥)

Lakṣmaṇa (17a, 39b) comm. of the Mahābhārata.

Varnadeśanā (20b)

Varnaviveka (4b)

Vāmanācārya (29a : असीति त्वमित्यर्थे वाक्यालंकारे इति वामनाचार्यः)

Vikramādityakosa (18a)

Vidyānidhibhaṭṭa (17a) comm. of the Mahābhārata.

Vimalabodha (3a : अन्यत्र विमलबोधालिखितक्रम एव सर्वत्र प्रचरति & c. often)

Viṣṇuhrdaya (13b)

Vedabhāṣya (34b)

Vaiśampāyana (3a, 7a, &c. often) commentator.

Śaṅkarācārya (2b : श्रीशंकराचार्यमते तु सप्तशतीटीकायां पञ्चैव नमस्कारा उक्ता व्याख्याताश्च ।)

Śaṅkarabhāṣya (21a)

Śabdārpava (39a) lexicon.

Śarakasvāmī (28b : ताडका तालकेति चेति प्रातिशाख्यटीकायां शरकस्वामी)

Śaṇḍilya (36b : वियान्तीति शांडिल्यपाठे ।)

Śābara (26b : संदेहेऽधिकमेवपाठ्यं गौरवविषयत्वाद्ल्पदोषत्वाच्चेति शाबर व्याख्या —)

Śivānanda (17a : श्वेतोपाख्यानं तु क्वचित् पुस्तके तिष्ठतीति यथा पुस्तकं पाठ्यमिति शिवानन्द-वियानिधिभट्टाः ।)

Sarvajña (12a, 18a : Harivaṃśaṭkāyāṃ, 26b, 39a)

Sāhasāṅka (18b) lexicographer.

Subhūti (65a)

Sṛṣṭidhara (comm. on the Mahābhārata, 3a &c. very often)

Do. (comm. on the Bhāṣāvṛtti, 10b & 42a : भाषाटीकायां सृष्टिः)

The author was able to obtain different versions of some of the commentaries. cf. क्वचिच्चातुर्भुज्यां (8b), कामरूपीयविमलबोधे तु (21b) क्वचिन्मानटीकायां (22b). In naming the different commentators at every step he sometimes uses curious abbreviations e. g. विवेचाः, विवेटीकयोः (34a). Sṛṣṭidhara is almost invariably cited as Sṛṣṭi and even as 'Sr' (12a). He apparently takes the two Sṛṣṭidharas as identical. There is a very long discussion in the commentary (fol. 19-24) on the exact number of chapters and verses in the Mahābhārata and the total he arrives at is 102555 verses. (24b)

NEW LIGHT ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE
COMMENTATORS OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

P. K. GODE

In the list of Mss of the commentaries on the *Mahābhārata* prepared by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the Mss of the Vidyāsāgara's commentary are recorded as follows:—

विद्यासागर—रत्नावली (on सभापर्वन्)

—Comm. on शान्तिपर्वन्

—रत्नावली (on भीष्मपर्वन्)

आनन्दपूर्ण मुनीन्द्र—व्याख्यानरत्नावली (on अनुशासनपर्वन्)

In view of the above Mss of Vidyāsāgara's or Ānandapūrṇa's commentary on the *Sabhā*, *Śānti*, *Bhīṣma* and the *Anuśāsana* parvans we must thank Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya for drawing our attention to a fragment of Vidyāsāgara's commentary on the आदिपर्वन् recently acquired by the Varendra Research Museum of Rajshahi, Bengal (Ms No. 1898). We are further thankful to the Professor for his close study and analysis of this fragment of 67 folios containing Vidyāsāgara's जयकौस्तुभ commentary on the आदिपर्वन् upto chap. 69 or so. With regard to the date of this fragment we are informed by the Professor that it is "about 150 years old". We are further told by the Professor that this is "the most extensive commentary ever written on the *Mahābhārata*" and that "the author had an access to almost a bewildering mass of *Mahābhārata* literature and indulges from the very start with learned discussions on textual variations from a large number of texts and commentaries collected from different parts of Eastern India." According to Vidyāsāgara's computation the *Mahābhārata* contains 1,02,555 verses. Speaking of the Chronology of the commentary Prof. Bhattacharya states:— "We would tentatively place the author about 1700 A. D." In this connection I have to draw the attention of my friend to the following papers on Vidyāsāgara published by Dr. Raghavan and myself:—

(1) In 1939 I published my paper on "*Date of Ānandapūrṇa alias Vidyāsāgara*, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*—*Between A. D. 1200 and 1350* in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, Vol. XX, Part 1, pp. 29-36. I have proved in this paper that Vidyāsāgara is definitely earlier than A. D. 1400 as we have Mss of his works dated *A. D. 1405, 1435 and 1568*.

(2) Dr. V. Raghavan immediately wrote a paper corroborating my findings and published his paper on "*The Date and Works of Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara*" in the *Annals of Oriental Research* (Madras University) pp. 1-5 of the offprint sent to me. In this paper Dr. Raghavan has pointed out that our author in his *Prakriyā-mañjarī* states that he wrote it when King Kāmadeva, a devotee of Śiva was ruling :

“ श्रीकामदेवे जगतीं प्रशासति
श्रीशैलकन्यापतिभक्तिधारिणि ।
विद्योद्धेरुत्थितमेतदारात्
टीकामृतं भूसुरहर्षवर्धनम् ॥ ”

King Kāmadeva mentioned in this stanza has been identified with Kāmadeva the Kadamba ruler of Goa whose inscription of Śaka 1315 or *A. D. 1393* describes him as a devotee of Śiva at Gokarna. Dr. Raghavan, therefore, concluded: “We may, therefore, place King Kāmadeva and Vidyāsāgara safely about *A. D. 1350*”.

It would thus be seen that Vidyāsāgara flourished about *A. D. 1350* and not “about *A. D. 1700*” as suggested by Prof. Bhattacharya.

Dr. Raghavan's account of Vidyāsāgara's Works shows clearly the erudition and abilities of this great scholiast. This conclusion is in harmony with the list of authorities quoted by Vidyāsāgara in the 67 folios of his commentary on the Ādi-parvan now disclosed to us for the first time by Prof. Bhattacharya. This list is similar to the list of authorities mentioned by Vidyāsāgara in his Vedāntic work *Nyāya-Candrikā* (Madras Govt. Mss. Library—*MS R No. 2931*). I note below in brief for ready reference both these lists of citations :—

MS of <i>Adiparvan</i> Comm. at Rajashahi	MS of <i>Nyāyacandrikā</i> at Madras
(1) अर्जुन,	भूषणकार (भासर्वज्ञ), (C. 950 A.D.)
(2) अनुपदकार (grammarian)	न्यायमुक्तावली and न्यायमुक्तावली-
(3) उपाध्याय (grammarian)	कार,
(4) उवट (c. 1044 A. D.)	वादीन्द्र (author of महाविद्याविड-
(5) कोकट	म्बन on which वियासागर has
(6) क्षीरस्वामिन्	commented C. 1225 A.D.)
(7) चतुर्भुजमिश्र,	बौद्धाधिकार, उदयन, कुसुमाञ्जली,
(8) चान्द्राः	किरणावलीकार,
(9) जयमङ्गला (साङ्ख्य टीका)	न्यायमञ्जरी, जयन्त, (10th cent.
(10) जगन्धर (Comm. on महा-	A. D.)
भारत)	न्यायलीलावती वल्लभाचार्य, (C 12th
(11) जनार्दन-Ibid—	cent. A. D.)
(12) तारपाल	वासुदेव मिश्र (possibly Commen-
(13) दुर्ग (grammarian)	tator of न्यायसार)
(14) देवबोध, देवस्वामिन्,	व्योमशिवाचार्य (comm. on प्रशस्त-
(15) नामानुशासन (Lexicon)	पाद)
(16) नारायणसर्वज्ञ, सर्वज्ञ,	भवनाथ,
(17) निर्घण्ट,	भावनाविवेक
(18) न्यायटीकाकृतः,	स्फोटसिद्धि, स्फोटसिद्धिकार,
(19) न्यास,	शालिकनाथ
(20) भागवृत्ति,	कन्दलीकार (श्रीधर) (about 991
(21) मण्डन,	A. D.)
(22) महावृत्ति (i. e. काशिका)	तिमिरारि
(23) मिश्र (neither चतुर्भुज	शम्भु
nor अर्जुन)	मानमनोहरकार, वादिवागीश्वर,
(24) मुनि,	तत्त्वाविर्भावकार,
(25) रसार्णव,	शिवादित्य (a. of सप्तपदार्थी)
(26) लक्ष्मण (comm. on महा-	भास्करीयाः
भारत)	बृहद्भारतिका of संप्रदायविद्
(27) वर्णदेसना,	वाचस्पति मिश्र
(28) वर्णविवेक,	इष्टसिद्धि
(29) वामनाचार्य,	Reference to his own gloss
	on खण्डन

MS of <i>Ādiparvan</i> Comm. at Rajashahi	MS of <i>Ādiparvan</i> Comm. at Rajashahi
(30) विक्रमादित्यकोश	(40) शाण्डिल्य
(31) विद्यानिधिभट्ट (comm. on महाभारत)	(41) शाबर
(32) विमलबोध (comm. on महाभारत)	(42) शिवानन्द
(33) विष्णुहृदय	(43) सर्वज्ञ (हरिवंश टीकायास्)
(34) वेदभाष्य	(44) साहसाङ्क (Lexicogra- pher)
(35) वैशम्पायन (commentator)	(45) सुभूति
(36) शंकराचार्य	(46) सृष्टिधर (comm. on महा- भारत)
(37) शंकरभाष्य	(47) सृष्टिधर comm. on भाषा- वृत्ति (भाषाटीकायां सृष्टिः)
(38) शब्दार्णव (Lexicon)	
(39) शरकस्वामी (प्रातिशाख्य- टीकायास्)	

The foregoing citations in Vidyāsāgara's works of c. A. D. 1350 are very important for the Chronology of Sanskrit literature. I am concerned here with the chronology of the commentaries on the *Mahābhārata* mentioned by Vidyāsāgara in the *Ādiparvan* commentary before us. With reference to these commentaries and their authors I have to observe as follows :—

(1) अर्जुन—He may be different from अर्जुनमिश्र *Mbh.* commen-
tator. गदानन्द in his comm. on *Mbh.* possibly refers to this
अर्जुन :— “ बोधो विमलबोधोऽत्र वचनीयोऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनः ” (*Vaṅṁṁya Sāhitya*
Parisat Ms.).

(7) चतुर्धनमिश्र—This author quotes मेदिनि lexicon. I have
proved the date of मेदिनि to lie between c. A. D. 1200 and 1275 in
a special paper to be published shortly. As विद्यासागर of c. A. D.
1350 quotes चतुर्धनमिश्र we may fix up this commentator between
A. D. 1275 and 1350.

(10) जगद्धर—There is no commentator on the *Mbh.* of this
name in Dr. Sukthankar's list.

(11) जनार्दन— —Do—

(14) देवबोध, देवस्वामिन्—The earliest commentator on the Mbh. possibly before A. D. 1150. His आदिपर्वटीका has been edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar (B. O. R. I. edition) and the उद्योगपर्व टीका has been edited by Dr. S. K. De. in the Bharāṭīya Vidyā Bhavan Series, Bombay.

(16) नारायणसर्वज्ञ, सर्वज्ञ—also called सर्वज्ञनारायण. He is considered to be identical with his namesake the author of a Comm. on मनुस्मृति who according to Mm. Prof. Kane flourished between A. D. 1100 and 1300 (*vide* p. 267 of *Sukthankar Memorial Edition* Vol. I (1944) edited by P. K. Gode.) This chronology harmonizes with Vidyāsāgara's reference to नारायण सर्वज्ञ in c. A. D. 1350,

(24) मुनि—This commentator is not found in Sukthankar's list. गदानन्द possibly refers to him in the following line:—

“ देवो मधुमुनिर्वाच्यो मिश्रो वाच्यश्चतुर्भुजे । ”

मुनि was a definite commentator of the Mbh. as appears from the expression “ कचिन्मुनिटीकायाम् ” used by Vidyāsāgara.

(26) लक्ष्मण—Sukthankar's list shows the Mss of the commentary of लक्ष्मण on सभा and विराट् Parvans of the Mbh. The comm is called विषमोद्धारिणी (on विराट्पर्वन्)

(31) विद्यानिधिभट्ट—He is not mentioned in Sukthankar's list.

(32) विमलबोध—Sukthankar's list shows his commentary on all the 18 Parvans of the Mbh. I have proved that विमलबोध is later than A. D. 1150 (*vide* pp. 394-397 of *Annals* B. O. R. I. XVII). Now that Vidyāsāgara mentions him (c. A. D. 1350) the date of विमलबोध may be taken to lie between A. D. 1150 and 1300 or so.

(33) वैशम्पायन—Sukthankar's list shows his commentary on the शान्तिपर्वन् (मोक्षधर्म). विमलबोध refers to this commentator in the following lines:—

“ निघण्टुभाष्यनिगमनिरुक्तानि विशेषतः । ”

वैशम्पायनटीकादि देवस्वामिमतानि च ।

वीक्ष्य व्याख्या विरचिता दुर्घटार्थ प्रकाशिनी ॥ ”

[*Vide* p. 270 of *Sukthankar Memo. Edition* Vol. I (1944)]

(46) सृष्टिधर—He is not mentioned in Sukthankar's list of Mss. of Mbh. commentaries. In his article on the Mbh. com-

mentators (*Annals*, B. O. R. I. Vol. XVII, p. 185) सुष्टिधर is mentioned. Prof. Bhattacharya states that विद्यासागर mentions another सुष्टिधर and his commentary called भाषावृत्ति and further points out that विद्यासागर " takes the two सुष्टिधर as identical ". This identity needs to be investigated.

It will be seen from the above notes that all the commentaries on the Mahābhārata, numbering about a dozen, mentioned by Vidyāsāgara are prior to A. D. 1350. It is for the first time that we are able to put a definite limit to the dates of these commentaries on the strength of the *Ādiparvan-ṭīkā* fragment so carefully analysed by Prof. Bhattacharya. It is worthwhile analysing Vidyāsāgara's commentary on the *Sabhā*, *Śānti*, *Bhīṣma* and *Anuśāsana* parvans referred to by me already in this paper. I hope that the information recorded and discussed by me in this paper will clarify the problem of the chronology of the Mahābhārata commentaries to a considerable extent as all the commentaries made use of by Vidyāsāgara are earlier in point of date than A. D. 1350.

HUMAN SACRIFICE IN PROTO-INDIA

BY

A. P. KARMARKAR.

The institution of human sacrifice evidently seems to be of pre-Aryan origin in India. The various Mohenjo Daro finds fully indicate the existence and wide prevalence of the cult. In later times, however, the cult seems to have spread far and wide in the whole world. We find the early traces of the same in Greece, Italy, among the Celts, Teutons and Slaves, the Phoenicians and Egyptians, the early Japanese, many African tribes, South Sea Islanders, some American tribes, and particularly the Mayas and Aztecs.¹

Like all the other sacrifices, the institution of the human sacrifice conveyed the far deeper meaning, namely, that of sacrificing the best at the altar of God. The motive in doing so may be many-sided. We know that Hariscandra made an attempt to offer a human victim i.e. Sunahšepa, in sacrifice, for the sake of saving his own child. Herodotus gives an interesting account regarding the significance of the cult. While relating the story of Cyrus who was bent upon throwing Croesus, the king of Lydians, along with fourteen other prisoners on the funeral pile, he observes, that, 'I know not whether Cyrus was minded to make an offering of the first fruits to some God or other, or whether he had vowed a vow and was performing it, or whether, as may well be, he had heard that Croesus was a holy man, and so wished to see if any of the heavenly powers would appear to save him from being burnt alive'.² Besides we find that the cult was practised for achieving many other objects also. It is worth noting that the cult was practised by both the high and the low.

¹ *E. R. E.* VI. p. 840. It should be noted that we have used the word 'Phoenicians' instead of 'Semites'. The cult of human sacrifice was prevalent among the Phoenicians alone.

² *Herodotus*, I. 86.

Human Sacrifice amongst the Proto-Dravidians

The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions and representations on seals indicate the main proofs in regard to the prevalence of this cult. Father Heras observes, that, 'these words are never found in the inscriptions. Yet when one observes that the number of the deceased persons is always the same or at least repeated in certain proportion, one at once realizes that the inscriptions speak of real human sacrifice'.¹ The persons to be sacrificed were kept in prison and treated as temple prisoners.² Once they were kept in a palm-grove.³ One of the seals⁴ represents how seven victims, fully decorated, were kept ready for the sacrifice. They are shown to have worn flowers or perhaps feathers over their heads. They are dressed and are shown to have worn shoes. The sacrifice used to take place under the trees—the corpses being afterwards taken away by two *bandis* to the burial grounds.⁵

Number of Victims

The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions relate that the number of human victims was generally either seven or a multiple of seven.⁶ To elucidate the fact :

- (1) 'Of the seven of the united countries who died in the country.'⁷
- (2) 'Of the death of seven of the Minas who were in the country of *Āṇ* (who is) the Sun.'⁸
- (3) 'The two trees under which the seven Minas saw the God of death.'⁹
- (4) 'Of the death of the twenty-one counted prisoners in the

¹ Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to Inscriptions*, *Jour. of the University of Bombay*. Vol. V. Pt. I, p. 23

² Marshall, *M. D.*, Pl. CXVI, No. 6.

³ *Photo, M. D.*, 1928-29, No. 6628.

⁴ Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, pl. XII. 18.

⁵ Marshall, *H.*, No. 11.

⁶ Cf., Heras, *op. cit.* p. 23.

⁷ Marshall, *M. D.*, No. 146.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *M. D.*, No. 553.

⁹ *Ibid.* *M. D.* Pl. CXVIII, No. 3 (Hr. 4337).

(month of the) Fish when the growing half of the moon was over the lands.' ¹

(5) 'Let the seven die when the sun is on high.' ²

Only on one occasion, the number of victims is given as twelve. ³

Number Seven in later tradition

It is of immense interest to note that the number seven as applied to the human victims became current in later times in India as well as in the western world. We shall examine the point presently.

Immediately after the Mohenjo Daro period, but any way before the time of Zoroaster, it is told how Croesus, the king of the Lydians, was imprisoned and thrown on the burning pile. Herodotus relates the account as follows: 'Thus was Sardis taken by the Persians and Croesus himself fell into their hands, after having reigned fourteen years, and been besieged in his capital fourteen days, thus too did Croesus fulfil the oracle, which said that he should destroy a mighty empire, by destroying his own. Then the Persians who had made Croesus prisoner brought him before Cyrus. Now a vast pile had been raised by his orders, and Croesus, laden with fetters, was placed upon it, and with him twice seven of the sons of the Lydians.' ⁴

This account is interesting especially because it states facts belonging to the pre-Zoroastrian age.

The story of the origin of the Citpāvans also is very interesting. Here is one of the accounts given by Monier Williams regarding the tradition: 'A tribe of Brāhman in the Konkan called Citpāvans is said to have been created by Paraśurāma thus: After his contest with the Kṣatriyas he took up his abode in the mountains of that part of India. There he had a quarrel with some Brāhman who resided with him in the same region. Then to spite them he went to the sea-shore, and finding fourteen

¹ *Ibid.* H. No. 120; *Ibid.* 4. No. 12.

² *Ibid.* M. D., No. 344.

³ *Photo. M. D.*, 1928-29, No. 6357.
Herodotus, I. 86.

funeral piles (*Citās - Caityas*) with the remains of a number of persons who had been burnt, resuscitated them and converted them into Brāhman's'.¹

Purāṇic data :

The Purāṇic data also is useful in this connection. The Brahmandā Purāṇa describes that, 'It is said that the Goddess Lalitā were a garland of seven heads of the Rāksasas by means of weaving their hair into each other and created a shrilling noise.'² Perhaps this refers to the tradition of offering the heads of seven human victims.

Atharvaveda :

The Atharvaveda maintains the tradition as follows :
'Seven victims held the sacrificial essence,

The bright one and the one that hath grown feeble.
The three and thirty deities attend them.

As such, conduct us to the world of *Svarga*.³

It should be noted here that though the word seven is interpreted as meaning seven different kinds of victims including men and animals, still, in our opinion, this must have originally referred to the tradition of the sacrifice of seven victims.

Rgveda

Best of all, the famous hymn on the Primeval being (Purusa-Sūkta) contains a specific reference in regard to the significance of the number seven. It states that at the time when Purusa was being sacrificed,

"Seven fencing sticks had he, thrice-seven layers of fuel were prepared,

When the Gods, offering sacrifice, bound, as their Victim, Purusa (15).

"Gods sacrificing, sacrificed the victim : these were the earliest holy ordinances.

¹ Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*. p. 271 fn.

² *Brahmāṇḍa P. Uttarabhāga*, Adh, 24, V. 98.

³ *Atharvaveda*, xii, 316.

The mighty ones attained the height of heaven, there where the sādhyas, Gods of old, are dwelling." (16)¹

The Purusa-sūkta is but a mystic glorification of the human victim who already stands sacrificed. If this be so then it actually points to an old custom belonging to the pre-Aryan times. The remarks made in the hymn that 'these were the earliest ordinances' are instructive.²

Some of the Megalithic tombs in Southern India contain the contracted bodies of seven persons.³

Later
instances

Again Crooke gives an interesting instance. He says that, 'when Hindus have removed the ashes from a burning ground they write the figures 49, on the spot where the corpse was cremated.'⁴

Story of Kamsa and Devaki's children.

The story of Kamsa killing the first seven children of Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa's father, should really throw some light on the ancient custom of sacrificing seven victims.

Story of Devavrata.

The story of Devavrata is narrated as follows :

'Śantanu sees a maiden on the Ganges. He marries with her on condition that he would never interfere with any of her acts. After their marriage, as soon as the child was born, she threw it into the Ganges ; and this she did to seven children, one after another. But on her doing about the eighth (Devavrata), the king prevented her. She was Gaṅgā. She said that they belonged to Vasus, and that, therefore she wanted them to be sent to heaven soon. (*Mahābhārata*, *Ādi P.* 97 ff.).

Thus all the above instances show how the system of sacrificing seven (or a multiple of seven) victims was widely prevalent in ancient India.

¹ *R̥gveda*, x, 90, 15-16.

² Cf. Karmarkar, ' *The Puruṣa-Sūkta or the Mystic Glorification of the Human Victim* ', J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.), XVIII, pp. 91 ff.

³ Eg. *The tomb No. XVII of Raigir*. Cf. Hunt, ' *Hyderabad Cairn Burials and their significance* ', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LIV. p. 148.

⁴ Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore etc.*, II. 51.

Cult of Human Sacrifice belongs to Non-Aryans

Both the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions and later writings prove beyond doubt one factor, namely, that the cult of human sacrifice must have been originally practised by the Dravidians, and that if the Aryans have mentioned instances of the same, it must have been on account of the gradual flow of the non-Aryans into the fold of Aryanism itself. The following arguments may be adduced in support of the same :

(1) We have already referred to the prevalence of the cult among the Minas and other tribes in the Mohenjo Daro period.

(2) The Panis are another Dravidian tribe of R̥gvedic fame. The main characteristic of this tribe as described in the R̥gveda shows that they must have formed part of the proto-Dravidians. The Bhāgavata Purāna mentions a story, that, the king of the Vrsalas performed the human sacrifice according to the custom prevalent among the Panis.¹

The story is related as follows :

‘Once upon a time, a king of the Vrsalas (Vṛsalipatiḥ), desirous of having a son, undertook to sacrifice a male human being for the propitiation of Bhadrakālī. By chance the sacrificial male beast secured for the purpose was let loose and could not be found out at the time of sacrifice. There-upon the followers of the leader of Panis ran hither and thither in search of the object of the sacrifice. In their frantic, they proceeded towards the field at dead of night covered with darkness and by chance they came to see the decrepit Bharata while he was engaged in protecting the field having stationed himself on high in a particular subtle way. The followers of the Vrsalipati found him gifted with auspicious marks and thought that he would serve well the purpose of their master’s sacrifice. Then they bound him (Bharata) with ropes and with delightful countenance they proceeded towards the altar of the Goddess Kālī where their master was awaiting them. According to their rules they got Bharata bathed, clothed him with a new piece of cloth and decked him with ornaments, fragrant garlands and marks of *tilaka*. Then having fed him and worshipped him with presents of incense, lamps, garlands, fried paddy, new leaves, fruits and tender roots, they, chanting aloud the glories of Goddess Kālī and playing Mrdangas and Papavas brought him be-

¹ *Bhāgavata P. Fifth Skandha, Adh. 9, VV 12 ff.*

fore the Goddess Bhadrakālī, and made him sit there with his face downwards.

‘Thereupon the priest of the king, to worship the Goddess Bhadrakālī with the blood-like Āsava of that male beast being purified with incantations, took up a dreadful dagger. The minds of those Panis were possessed by the qualities of darkness and ignorance and were filled with the pride of riches.’

Later on, it is told how Bhadrakālī saved Bharata from slaughter.

(3) In the *Brahmavaiivarta P.* it is stated how the Tāmasic Pūjā (worship) through human sacrifice was practised by the Kirātas and other tribes.¹

(4) *Story of Jarāsandha*²: The Mahābhārata states that Jarāsandha had imprisoned one hundred kings and kept them in the temple of Paśupati at Vāraṇāvata situated in Magadha (on the opposite side of the Ganges). It is said that they were to be slaughtered like ‘cattle’, but were saved later on. Jarāsandha is described as an Asura. Hence he must have evidently belonged to the non-Aryan race.

(5) The practice of the cult was in vogue amongst many of the lower tribes in India.

(6) *In Aryan documents.* The early instance of Śunaḥśepa (rather implicitly referred to in the R̥gveda),¹ who was saved from being sacrificed as a human victim at the instance of Hariścandra, is a clear indication of the fact how the Aryans were showing a keen dislike towards the rite. Further the famous chapter on Purusamedha in the Yajurveda mentions, among other victims, the Vṛātya, Puṁścali and Māgadha.² This evidently proves the keen hatred of the Aryans against the practice of human sacrifice. Besides, as we have pointed out above, the Purusa-sūkta shows a clear indication of the fact of the existence of the cult in the pre-Aryan days.

Thus all these instances are clear proof of the fact that the rite of human sacrifice must have been popularly in vogue amongst the proto-Indians and that the Aryans must have adopted it later on, mainly on account of the fusion of the two races.

¹ *Brahmavaiivarta P. Prakṛti Kh.*, Adh. 94.

² *Mahābhārata*, II, 15, 23.

³ *R̥gveda*, I, 24.

⁴ *Vājasanēyī Samhitā*, XXX.

THE DATE AND TIME OF THE BHĀRATA WAR:
A NEW APPROACH ON ASTRONOMICAL CONSIDERATIONS

BY

K. V. ABHYANKAR

1. Method followed in fixing the date. 2. Internal Evidence. 3. Astronomical considerations. 4. Prominent events with dates. 5. Kṛṣṇa's embassy. 6. Frustration of Kṛṣṇa's mission. 7. Dates of Balarāma's pilgrimage examined. 8. Indirect mention of dates. 9. Conflicting views. 10. Date of Bhīṣma's passing examined. 11. Points of harmony. 12. View of Bhāratasāvitrī. 13. View of Arjunamiśra. 14. View of Mr. J. S. Karandikar. 15. Justified presumptions and coherent explanation. 16. Differences of view explained. 17. Explanation of obscure passages. 18. Conflict between Mahābhārata and Bhāratasāvitrī passages. 19. Critical review of Arjunamiśra's observations. 20. Critical review of Nīlakantha's observations. 21. Critical review of Mr. Karandikar's observations. 22. Dates of Kṛṣṇa's embassy and 13 days' fortnight. 23. Dates of Fight and Final Victory and Origin of Abhijit. 24. Date of Winter Equinox and Passing of Bhīṣma. 25. Occurrence of the intercalary month before the War. 26. Mr. Karandikar's view criticized. 27. Age of the Bhārata War.

1. It is proposed in this short article to give certain conclusions regarding the naughty question of fixing the date and time of the Mahābhārata War by following the method of Samanvaya adopted by the revered teachers of India. Only the material available inside the epic itself is taken into account, and with due care the explanations, given by the old commentators, are considered. The conclusions are drawn in most cases on the general principle of following the voice of the majority with explanations given not only as to why the view of the minority is to be discarded, but as to why the minority differed. There are, in all, not more than a dozen places where phrases or terms

referring to the time of the war are found in the text (vide appendix). Some of these occur in the main current of the narration, others in topics concerning the main narration, while still others are such as are quoted by the commentators as occurring in the conclusion of the great Epic known as Bhāratasāvitri. The Epic has never tried to give the events by the actual mention of dates. Possibly, when the war took place there was no era to calculate the year, nor names given to days. There was no division of the month by weeks, nor divisions of fortnights into 15 parts. People knew the seasons of the 12 months of the solar year as also the lunar year, and they could adjust the lunar year to the solar year by adding a lunar intercalary month periodically. They marked the days of the New and the Full moon and counted the days in the fortnight as first, second, third etc. The calculations were generally made by nights that passed. They knew the association of the moon with the 27 lunar mansions which the moon occupied one per day in her round of 27 days. Although there was the knowledge of the year, the fortnight and the days, present in the minds of the writers of the Epic, it is surprising that they made no systematic attempt to assign a definite year, month, fortnight and day to any event and we have to base our conclusions only on the occasional references to Naksatras, months and fortnights.

2. The War took place, as popularly believed, in the month of Mārgaśīrsa, lasted for 18 days, and ended on the last or the day before the last of the month. There are references by dates to some events of the war in the Bhīma Parva, to the preliminaries of the war in the Udyogaparva and to the passing of Bhīma in the Śāntiparva; but their number is very small. References to the day of the commencement of the War and the deaths of the prominent heroes by date are found in the Bhārata-sāvitri, but their number is extremely limited.

3. It is but very natural that with this scanty material available referring to the dates of the War, only indirectly, that differences of views should have arisen not only regarding the era or the year, but even the dates and the month of its commencement and end. There is no difference of opinion regarding the actual number of the days of the fight which is believed to be 18, nor, regarding

the month which is Mārgaśīrṣa. Due to the Precession of the Equinoxes the seasons go on occurring earlier and earlier in the year, and well nigh after the lapse of about two thousand years, they occur even a month earlier. The constellations of stars have always remained unchanged with respect to their angular distances from each other, although the sun, the moon and the planets go on changing their positions and directions too, regarding the constellations. The Indian Calendar is based on astral year with lunar months adjusted to it, and the presence of the sun and the moon is fixed permanently in particular constellations in particular months. The references, therefore, to the positions of the sun and the moon in specific constellations at the time of specific events are very valuable in determining the dates of those events.

4. The prominent events of the Bhārata war which are directly or indirectly associated with dates are the following:— 1 the starting of Kṛṣṇa on his peace mission, 2 frustration of his mission and its consequences. 3 Commencement of the War, 4. Retirement of Bhīṣma, 5. Deaths of heroes such as Abhimanyu, Jayadratha, Ghaṭotkaca, Droṇa and Karna, 6. The Mace fight and arrival of Balarāma, and 7. Passing of Bhīṣma. As the Table attached at the end will show, slightly different dates are assigned to these events by the writers of the Bhāratasāvitṛī, the old commentator Arjunamīśra, the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha and modern Mahābhārata scholars like J. S. Karandikar. An examination of the several passages referring to these events and a careful scrutiny as to why and how these differences have arisen will show that a satisfactory solution of the problem can be given by finding out and eradicating the cause of the differences.

5. Regarding the first event, viz. Kṛṣṇa's starting on embassy, the Mahābhārata in Udyogaparva (83, 6-7) remarks that Kṛṣṇa started in the month 'Kaumuda' on the constellation 'Revati', on 'Maitra Muhūrta'. The month Kārttika is understood by the word 'Kaumuda' by almost all commentators; the moon is found in Revati constellation only on the bright 12, 13 and 14 of Kārttika, and hence one of these three days was the day of his starting. The interpretation of the word 'Maitra' presents a difficulty: the word 'Maitra' literally means 'presi-

ded over by Mitra i. e. the constellation 'Anurādhā' which conflicts with the constellation 'Revati' which is specifically mentioned in the passage. The same is the case with another passage where the word 'Maitra' occurs along with the specific mention of the constellation 'Pusya'.

6. The second event is the frustration of Kṛṣṇa's mission resulting into Balarāma's proceeding on pilgrimage, Duryodhana's order to his allies to march towards Kuruksetra, and Kṛṣṇa's message to Kaurava Generals to start fight after a week. Kṛṣṇa tried hard, especially at the request of his brother Balarāma, for more than a week to bring about a compromise between the two parties by arranging separate interviews with Duryodhana and others. His last interview was with Karna. When all his attempts failed, he sent word with Karna to Bhīṣma, Drona and Kṛpa to begin War after 8 days on the New Moon Day (Udyoga 142, 16-18); Duryodhana also asked his allies to march to Kuruksetra and encamp there (Udyoga 150, 3) and Balarāma, in resentment, immediately started on pilgrimage (Udyoga 157, 33-35). All these events are described to have taken place on the same day, the dark 4th of Kārttika when the moon was in Pusya. The three passages, describing the three events, clearly mention the day as Pusya. The difference among the commentators arises only with regard to the day of the fortnight which was marked by Pusya, Arjunamīśra giving it as the 8th day and Nīlakaṇṭha as the 5th day.

7. There are two other references to Balarāma's departure for pilgrimage later on in Śalya Parva (ch. 34 and 35) which mention 'Pusya' as the day of departure and 'Śravana' as the day of return and 42 as the number of intervening days. The day of Balarāma's return is unanimously believed to have coincided with the last day of the War. The mention of the constellation 'Śravana' as the day of Balarāma's return, and consequently as the last day of the War, presents a great difficulty to the commentators: Śravana, in the first place, cannot evidently occur before the month Mārgaśīrṣa has ended, while the war is traditionally believed, to have been over before the New Moon of Mārgaśīrṣa. Besides, Śravana, as the last day of the War, conflicts with Bharanī which is given in the Bhāratasāvitṛī as the first day of the War, as 'Śravana' is 21st from Bharanī and

not 18th. The commentators and critics, therefore, have no other alternative except either sticking to Bharanī or to Śravaṇa. Nilakanṭha, on the principle of the recognized superiority of the conclusion or upasamhāra to the beginning or upakrama, definitely lays down that the War ended on Śravaṇa, the first day of Pausa and commenced on Mrgaśīras and not on Bharanī. Arjunamiśra sticks to the bright 13th as the day of the commencement. He remains silent about the Nakṣatra. Mr. Karandikar and other modern critics have also discarded 'Śravaṇa' as the last day of the War.

8. There are indirect references to the commencement of the War at the beginning of Bhīṣmaparvan (ch. 3, 28 and 17, 2) where references are made to the solar and the lunar eclipses and the occurrence of the fortnight of 13 days. There is also a reference to the entry of the moon into the constellation 'Maghā'. The critics of the Mahābhārata have held a lot of discussion regarding the possibility of two eclipses, mentioned as taking place on the same day and the exact day referred to by the word "that day" in the sentence "the moon entered that day the province of Maghā". It is really uncertain to which day there is a reference in the wording "that day". It is almost impossible to understand a reference to the first day of the War as some critics would have it, as, such a reference would not only conflict with the passages from the Bhāratasāvitṛī, but with the Mahābhārata passages mentioning the period of the pilgrimage of Balarāma and the passing of Bhīṣma.

9. The first day of the fight, the retirement of Bhīṣma and the death of Drona are mentioned with specific dates and Nakṣatras in the Bhāratasāvitṛī: The War according to it commences on Bharanī, the bright 13th, and ends on Mūla, the New Moon. The commentators and critics accept these dates given by the traditionally old authority, and assign dates to all events connected with the War accordingly, making such changes as are absolutely necessary in their opinion. Nilakanṭha takes the 13th in conjunction with the 14th as the first day of the War and gives the bright first of Pausa as the last day; he takes Mrgaśīras and not Bharanī as the constellation on the first day and Śravaṇa on the last day. Arjunamiśra takes the

bright 13th as the first day and the New Moon as the last day remaining silent about the Naksatras. Mr. Karandikar finds out a kind of inconsistency between the day (thirteenth) and the Naksatra (Bharani) given in the Bhāratasāvitṛi and chooses to abandon the tithi by sticking to the Naksatra. War according to him started on the bright eleventh when the moon was in Bharani and ended on the dark thirteenth when the moon was in Mūla constellation.

10. The last item in connection with which a definite mention of the date is made in the Mahābhārata is the passing of Bhīṣma. Bhīṣma laid down his arms when Śikhaṇḍi stood before him and on receiving serious wounds from Arjuna, he retired from the fight. He lay down on a bed of arrows waiting for the Winter Solstice (Uttarāyana) to breathe his last. The retirement of Bhīṣma took place on the 10th day of the fight. On the termination of the War, Bhīṣma asked Yudhiṣṭhira to go to the Capital and begin his rule bearing in mind that he was to return to pay last respects to his revered grandfather at the time of the Winter Solstice. Yudhiṣṭhira returned 50 days after, exactly at the nick of time and Bhīṣma expressed his profound joy at the sight of his grandson, saying that he remained waiting for the Winter Solstice on the bed of arrows for 58 nights which he felt as long as one hundred years. (Bhīṣma-svargārohaṇa-parvan 167, 27-29). The day of the passing of Bhīṣma has neither any Naksatra nor any date assigned to it. It depends entirely on the last day of the War from which it is 59th. If the War ended on the dark 13th of Mārgaśīrṣa, Bhīṣma's passing would occur on the dark 3rd of Māgha as Mr. Karandikar would like to say, or if it ended on the 14th then the dark 4th would be the day of Bhīṣma's passing, and, if on the New Moon day, then, the dark 5th. If it ended on the first day of Pausa as Nilakaṇṭha would have it, the dark 6th would be the day of Bhīṣma's passing. Nilakaṇṭha, in his eagerness to follow the tradition of the bright fortnight for Bhīṣma's passing, gives the bright 5th of Māgha as the date and explains the word 'aṣṭapañcāśatam' as 42. He splits the word into 'aṣṭapañca' and 'śatam' and takes it to mean 'fifty eight deducted from the century' i. e. 42. Although the difficulty presented by the word

'astapañcāśatam' be thus avoided somehow, still, he cannot avoid the difficulty presented by the word 'pañcāśat' which clearly means 50 and in no way 34. The word 'pañcāśat' occurs in Bhīṣma-svargārohaṇa-parva 197, st. 5 and clearly refers to the number of days passed by Yudhisthira after the war ended upto the passing of Bhīṣma. Arjunamiśra takes the dark 8th of Māgha as the day of Bhīṣma's passing stating that the dark 8th was looked upon as bright 8th by an unbroken tradition of Instruction. Mr. Karandikar takes the dark 3rd of Māgha as the date, as he can explain the setting in of Uttarāyaṇa on that day according to Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa.

11. The presence of such differences of view among the learned commentators and critics would create a belief at the first sight, that the problem of fixing the days of the Bhārata War is an insoluble one; but, it is not so. A due consideration given to the traditional beliefs on the one hand and a sympathetic grasp of the mind and ideas of the commentators and critics, who interpreted these passages on the other, would show that the differences can be settled, and a cogent harmonious explanation can be offered. The following are the main items about which hardly there is any difference of views: (1) the War commenced and ended in Mārgaśīrṣa, (2) it lasted for 18 days, (3) Bhīṣma retired on the 10th day and remained waiting for death till the Uttarāyaṇa commenced, and (4) Balarāma returned from pilgrimage on the last day of the War just when Duryodhana was to begin his duel combat with Bhīma. The occurrence of a fortnight of 13 days, with the Lunar eclipse at the beginning and the Solar eclipse at the end, is also an item of general acceptance. It is the details about the specific Nakṣatra or 'tithi', which are left to the commentators and critics to settle.

12. The Bhāratasāvitṛī, which represents the oldest tradition, explicitly mentions only two things. viz. that the War commenced on the bright 13th of Mārgaśīrṣa when the moon was in Bharanī, and Droṇa was slain on the dark 13th. As Droṇa was slain on the 15th Day of the fight, the dark 13th can be explained only in case there was a tithi dropped in that fortnight; and a tithi, in fact, could be dropped as the fortnight was a fortnight of 14 days according to calculations. The mention of

Bhīṣma's death in the line 'Arjunena hato Bhīṣmo Māghamāse-sitāṣṭamī' in the Bhāratasāvitrī can be said to refer to the passing of Bhīṣma, and not to his retirement, as, in the former case only, the words 'māgha' month and dark fortnight can be properly explained. The assignment of the eighth (bright or dark, as both the readings 'sita' and 'asita' can be taken) of Māgha to Bhīṣma's passing shows that the tradition of the 8th for that event was current at the time of the Bhāratasāvitrī. The evidence of the Bhāratasāvitrī, which is older than the commentators and later than Sauti is certainly more reliable than any other evidence, provided it does not conflict with any Mahābhārata passage.

13. The commentator Arjunamiśra appears to be older than Nilakantha. From the method of counting the days of the month followed by him, it seems that he possibly lived before Bhāṣakrācārya. He counts the days right on upto 28 or 29 as in the case of English months; the names are Caitra, Vaiśākha etc. but, his month e. g. Caitra, commences on the dark 5th after the full moon of Caitra. Thus, the 26th day of Āśvina month which he mentions as the day of Kṛṣṇa's journey means the full moon day of Kārttika, and the 28th of Āśvina, the dark second of Kārttika; the 22nd of Kārttika, mentioned by him as the first day of the War means the bright 12th of Mārgaśīrṣa, and the 3rd and the 10th of Āgrahāyana marking the fall of Bhīṣma and end of the War, mean the dark 7th and the New Moon respectively. Arjunamiśra has not mentioned specific Naksatras for the different days of the War and he has safely avoided the question whether the War ended on Mūla or Śravaṇa. Influenced of course by Bhāratasāvitrī, he gives the dark 8th of Māgha for Bhīṣma's passing, but he makes the remark that the dark 8th was looked upon as bright 8th by virtue of traditional Instruction (upadeśa-paramparayā). He tries to explain, although not satisfactorily, the interval of 58 nights.

14. Mr. Karandikar seems to be overinfluenced by the dark 3rd of Māgha, which is one of the dates specified for the commencement of the Uttarāyana in the Vedānga Jyotiṣa. He does not pause to consider whether at the time of Bhīṣma people really followed the calculations of the Vedānga Jyotiṣa. He

ignores the tithi (trayodaśī or the 13th) mentioned in the Bhāratasāvitṛī for the commencement of the war and accepts only the Nakṣatra 'Bharanī' given there. He says that the War commenced on Bharanī, the bright 11th of Mārgaśīrṣa and ended on Mūla the dark 13th of the same month.

15. Starting with two justified presumptions based upon an unbroken tradition, viz. that the Bhārata War took place in Mārgaśīrṣa, and the dark fortnight of Kārttika consisted of 13 days, if a calculation be made of the days of the month and the Nakṣatras the moon occupied, as people with their limited knowledge of astronomy could have done in those days, the following results can be obtained:—(1) The bright half of Kārttika consisted of 16 days; (2) The dark half of Kārttika consisted of 13 days; (3) the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa consisted of 16 days, (4) the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa consisted of 14 days and (5) the 3 fortnights that followed consisted of 45 days in all—15, 15, 15 or 15, 14, 16. (6) the War commenced on the bright 13th as mentioned in the Bhāratasāvitṛī which preserves the oldest tradition, and ended on the dark 14th which was the New Moon day, (7) the last day of the War was marked by Śravana, as mentioned in the Śalyaparva, the first day consequently being marked by Rohinī and not Bharanī as mentioned in the Bhāratasāvitṛī, (8) the passing of Bhīṣma occurred not on the dark 3rd or 8th of Māgha, but on the 5th exactly 50 nights after the War was over, or 58 nights after Bhīṣma retired, and (9) Kṛṣṇa started on embassy, on the bright 12th of Kārttika marked by the moon's presence in Revatī and his mission was frustrated on the dark 4th of Kārttika marked by the Constellation Pūṣya—an epoch-making day no doubt—on which Balarāma left for pilgrimage, Kṛṣṇa sent word with Karna to Kaurava Generals, and Duryodhana ordered his allies to go to Kurukṣetra to encamp.

16. It is now to be seen how far the results given above agree with the statements of commentators and critics. In consonance with the observations made above, it can be seen that in the year of the War, the moon was in Viśakhā along with the Sun at Sunrise, on the first day of Kārttika. The bright or first fortnight of Kārttika consisted of 16 days wherein moon was seen in the 16 Nakṣatras,—Viśakhā to Rohinī. The moon was in Revatī on

the 12th day when Kṛṣṇa started. Two days afterwards, on Bharatī, he saw Yudhisthira and began his work. With respect to the date of Kṛṣṇa's starting—the bright 12th of Kārttika—it is only Arjunamiśra who differs. He says that it was the 15th on which Revatī was with the moon. The moon could be in Revatī on the 12th, 13th as also on the 14th, but Arjunamiśra has chosen the 15th presumably because a week afterwards on Pūṣya the negotiations are described to have failed and again a week after the New Moon is mentioned. The consideration of the New Moon occurring a fortnight afterwards led Arjunamiśra to assign the 14th for Kṛṣṇa's journey on Revatī. Really speaking this was all unnecessary as the dark fortnight consisted only of 13 days, and even taking Revatī, the bright 12th as the day of Kṛṣṇa's journey, the New Moon could occur after a fortnight. Nilakantha, in consideration of the 13 days' fortnight assigns the dark 5th to the constellation Pūṣya, and without any difficulty accepts the bright 12th of Kārttika as the day of Kṛṣṇa's starting.

17. In the passage giving the date of Kṛṣṇa's starting, the words "maitre muhūrte samprāpte" occur which give a serious trouble to the commentators. The word 'Maitra' refers to the Nakṣatra Anurādhā, but the Nakṣatra 'anurādhā' conflicts with the Nakṣatra 'revatī' which is expressly mentioned (see Udyogaparva (ch. 83, st. 6). The moon cannot be in Anurādhā and Revatī on the same day. Some commentators avoid the difficulty by saying that 'Maitra' means 'belonging to a friend while others leave the word unexplained. The word 'maitra', without doubt, refers to Anurādhā, but it is not to be taken as the Moon's constellation that day. Or, Maitra Muhūrta may mean the third Muhūrta of the day i. e. fifth and sixth ghatakā after Sunrise. There is a passage in Śalyaparva (ch. 35) referring to Balarama's pilgrimage in which the word 'maitranakṣatrayoge' occurs along with the mention of the Nakṣatra 'pūṣya' stated to be occupied by the moon; the moon cannot evidently be in the 'anurādhā' and 'pūṣya' on the same day. It is obvious that the word 'maitra' which means the constellation 'anurādhā' cannot be the Nakṣatra occupied by the moon in both of these passages. The words 'muhūrta' and 'yoga' show that the Nakṣatra 'maitra' or Anurādhā on those two days gave an

auspicious *period* (*muhūrta*, or *yoga*) by its conjunction with the sun, or with the horizon, or with both. The time of Sunrise is believed to be auspicious for going, irrespective of other considerations, and, if this time of sunrise be accompanied by a good star or constellation at the horizon, the time would be much more auspicious. Hence it becomes clear that the constellation 'Maitra' or Anurādhā on these two days was on the horizon at sunrise as indicated by the words 'maitre muhūrte samprāpte' and 'maitranaksatrayoge'. There is another passage 'Maghā-*viṣayagah somas taddinam pratyapadyata*' which also has annoyed the commentators and critics regarding its explanation. It occurs in *Bhīṣmaparva* (ch. 17 st. 2) and simply means 'that day the moon entered the region of Maghā'. It cannot be ascertained exactly which day is referred to by the wording 'that day'; the day cannot be the day of the commencement of the War as the *Naksatra* of the moon on that day was *Bharanī* or *Rohini* but *not Maghā*. The day cannot also be that on which *Kṛṣṇa* started, or on which his mission failed, as they are assigned specific constellations 'Revati' and 'Pusya'. It appears that the day, referred to, is the day after the next to the day on which the mission failed, and on which bad omens began to occur. The cause of the occurrence of the bad omens is furnished by this line 'maghāviṣayagah somaḥ etc.'. The *Naksatra* 'Maghā' is dedicated to the manes and in good ancient days the 9 constellations from 'Maghā' to 'Jyesthā' formed the group of constellations dedicated to the manes, the entry of the moon in which, was not very good. The word 'maghāvisaya', hence, means the region of 'Maghā' i. e. the nine constellations from 'Maghā' to 'Jyesthā' both inclusive.

18. There are two passages mentioning the dates of the War:- The first is the *Mahābhārata* passage in the *Śalyaparva* (ch. 34 st. 5, 6) which states that *Balarāma* returned on 'Sraṇa' after a pilgrimage of 42 days, just at the last moment of the War; there is no day (*tithi* or serial day) of the fortnight or of the month mentioned. The second passage is not from the *Mahābhārata*; it is a passage quoted by *Nilakanṭha* from the *Bhāratasāvitṛī* which clearly mentions that the War commenced on *Bharanī* the bright thirteenth. Thus, according to the *Mahābhārata* the first day is

Mrga and the last day is Śravana, while according to the Bhāratasāvitṛī, the first day is Bharanī and the last day is Mūla. There is obviously a difference of two clear days in the statements which conflict with each other, and hence, the commentators and critics are required to give up one of the two in favour of the other. Arjunamiśra accepts the Mahābhārata passage making the necessary modifications, and ignores the Bhāratasāvitṛī passage. Nilakaṇṭha accepts the Mahā-Bhārata and ignores the Bhāratasāvitṛī. Mr. Karandikar accepts in toto the only Nakṣatra given by the Bhāratasāvitṛī and not the tithi (13th) and ignores the Mahābhārata passage altogether.

19. According to Arjunamiśra the War commenced on the bright 12th combined with the 13th, Bhīṣma retired on the dark 7th, the night fight took place on the 11th, Droṇa was slain on the 12th and the War ended on the New Moon day and Bhīṣma passed away on the dark 8th of Māgha. Arjunamiśra is strikingly silent regarding the Nakṣatras presumably because of the conflicting views about the Nakṣatras noticed in the Mahābhārata and the Bhāratasāvitṛī. He has stated the dates of the months, as observed above, in a peculiar way. The method of calculation, adopted by him, is rarely found elsewhere. He has mentioned the dark 8th of Māgha as the day of the Winter Solstice and looked upon that dark 8th, as bright 8th, on the strength of an unbroken tradition of instruction about it. The reference to the traditional view that Bhīṣma passed away on the bright 8th of Māgha, shows that at Arjunamiśra's time the Winter Solstice occurred sometime in Pausa, while the tradition was current that in the past it occurred in Māgha, and not in Pausa. It appears from all these grounds that Arjunamiśra lived possibly before Bhāskarācārya. It is rather strange that Arjunamiśra, who has taken a very critical attitude in determining the days of the War should have been so particular about the tradition of his time and assigned the dark 8th of Māgha to the passing of Bhīṣma, in spite of the fact that the interval between Bhīṣma's fall on the dark 7th of Mārgaśīrṣa according to him and Bhīṣma's passing on the dark 8th of Māgha cannot be 58 nights, but definitely a night or two more. It is also strange that he should have lost sight of the statement of Bhīṣma—this

part of 5 days of the dark fortnight deserves to be considered as bright, as it is a third part only (*tribhāgamātraḥ pakṣoyam śuklo bhavitum arhati*).

20. Nīlakaṇṭha has used the Mīmāṃsā argument that the statement at the conclusion is always more reliable than the one at the beginning when they conflict, in setting aside the Bhārata-sāvitṛi view about the Nakṣatra. He could more easily have said that the Mahābhārata passage is more reliable than the Bhāratasāvitṛi passage. He has not said it, presumably because orthodox as he was, both passages were equally sacred to him. Nīlakaṇṭha has made an accurate calculation and rightly concluded that the war ended on Śravana, which was the first day of Pausa, as Śravana could never occur in Mārgaśīrṣa. But, in his enthusiasm for bringing about somehow or other the bright fortnight for Bhīṣma's passing, he has given a very unnatural interpretation of the passage '*aṣṭapañcāśatam rātryaḥ* etc.' as already explained above.

21. Mr. Karandikar has made very accurate astronomical calculations and stated that the War commenced on the Bright 11th when the Moon was in Bharanī as the Bhāratasāvitṛi observes. He could show more regard for the Nakṣatra than for the date (13th) given in the Bhāratasāvitṛi; but, he should not have completely ignored the Mahābhārata passage in the Śalyaparva. He has possibly ignored the Mahābhārata passage on the ground of its being an interpolated one. He is tempted to take the bright 11th and not the 13th as the first day, as he could thereby take the dark 13th as the last day of the War and the dark 3rd of Māgha (exactly 58 nights after) as the day of Bhīṣma's passing. The dark 3rd of Māgha is one of the 5 dates of the commencement of the Uttarāyana according to the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa. It is problematical, as observed above, whether the calculations of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa could be made applicable to the statements about the Bhārata War. Besides, according to the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa the dark 3rd could be the beginning of the Uttarāyana in the 5th year of the Yuga or quinquennium and it cannot be said why the particular year of Bhīṣma's passing should be taken as the 5th. The occurrence of the Nakṣatra Bharanī on the 11th taken actually by him would rather show that it was

the *first* or the *fourth*. The Nakṣatra Bharanī occurs on the 11th, the 12th or the 13th of Mārgaśīrṣa according as the intercalary month has gone before in that very year, or in the previous year, or, in the year preceding the previous year.

22. The different views of the commentators and critics given above would clearly show that none of them has given quite a satisfactory solution of the difficulties presented by the conflicting texts. Each of them is required to ignore certain statements or offer an unusual sense. A close scrutiny of the astronomical passages and an accurate calculation will show that by ignoring only one passage of the Bhāratasāvitṛī and that too only in part, not only a consistent explanation of all the passages is possible, but, indirectly the age of the Bhārata War also can be settled on the astronomical data supplied by the texts: Kṛṣṇa started on his mission on Revatī, the bright 12th of Kārttika (Kaumuda Māsa) when the Autumn (Śarad) was almost over; he started at sunrise when the Nakṣatra Anurādhā was on the horizon in conjunction with the sun. He tried his best to effect a compromise, but, his efforts failed and he sent, on Puṣya, the dark 4th of Kārttika, a message through Karna to the Kaurava Generals to begin fight, a week after, on the New Moon Day. The same day (viz. the dark 4th) Balarāma left for pilgrimage and Duryodhana ordered his Allies to proceed to Kurukṣetra to encamp there. The New Moon Day occurred on Jyesthā, the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika. There was the lunar eclipse, the moon setting while eclipsed (grastāsta), on Rohinī, the 16th day of the bright fortnight, and the Solar Eclipse on Jyesthā, the 13th day of the dark fortnight, the Sun rising while eclipsed (grastodaya). The next fortnight i. e. the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa was of 16 days' duration, with the moon entering the Mūla Nakṣatra on its first day immediately after sunrise. The 'Worship of Weapons' (lohābhi-sāra or lohābhihāra) took place on 'Śatatārakā' the bright 6th of Mārgaśīrṣa.

23. The War commenced not on Bharanī the bright 11th, but on Rohinī, the bright 13th. Bhīṣma retired on Hasta, the dark 6th; Abhimanyu was slain on Viśākhā, the dark 9th; Jayadratha was slain on Anurādhā, the dark 10th; the night fight took

place on the night of the dark 10th; next day, on Jyesthā the dark 11th; Droṇa was slain; on Pūrvāṣāḍhā the dark 13th, Karna was slain; and on Uttarāṣāḍhā the 14th, Śalya was slain during day time. The fortnight consisted of 14 days and the new Moon occurred on the evening of the dark 14th. The Moon entered Śravana that very evening when Balarāma returned in hot haste to witness the end of the War viz. the duel fight of Duryodhana and Bhīma. The Moon left Uttarāṣāḍhā and entered the first part of Śravana in the evening when the victory was completely obtained by the defeat of Duryodhana. As the moon was in the last quarter of Uttarāṣāḍhā and the first part of Śravana when the victory was obtained, in order to commemorate the Victory, the last quarter of Uttarāṣāḍhā and the first quarter of Śravana together were given a separate place among the constellations and given the name 'Abhijit' or Giver of Victory.

24. The New Moon of Mārgaśīrṣa was the 9th day of Bhīṣma's rest on the bed of arrows when the War came to an end. On the bed of arrows Bhīṣma passed 30 nights of Pausa, 15 of the bright fortnight of Māgha and 4 more of the dark fortnight of Māgha. He passed silently in full comfort surrounded by Yudhiṣṭhira and all other relatives with the satisfaction of all his wishes having been carried as expressed in the famous verse recited in this connection :—

शुक्लपक्षे दिवा भूमौ गङ्गायां चोत्तरायणे । धन्यास्ते ये मरिष्यन्ति हृदयस्थे जनार्दने ॥

Although the day (dark 5th of Māgha) on which he passed was a day of the dark fortnight, still, because only a third of that dark fortnight was gone and two thirds still remained, it was looked upon as a supplement of the bright or first fortnight. The traditional tone of the narrative holds that Bhīṣma remained waiting for the Uttarayana or the Winter Solstice which commenced earliest in that year on the dark 5th of Māgha. As a matter of fact, the earliest date for the Winter Solstice, not only in that particular year, but in those years was the dark 5th of Māgha as, some facts mentioned already above will, show. The moon enters Śravana on the first day or the second day of Pausa, but never before the New Moon at the end of Mārgaśīrṣa has taken place. In other words, the Moon can pass to Śravana never before the Mārgaśīrṣa Amāvāsyā has

ended. At the time of the War the moon passed on to Śravana immediately after the Amāvāsyā was over, in fact, on the evening of the 14th day of the fortnight. This could happen only in case the intercalary month had been added just before. The interpretation of the word 'maitranaksatrayoga' and the phrase 'maitre muhūrte samprāpte' as referring to Anurādhā Naksatra on the horizon at sunrise, would also show that the Sun had already passed on to Anurādhā just a few days before the 12th of Kārttika. This could happen only after the addition of the intercalary month just some time before. Hence it is clear that Āśvina or Kārttika was added in that year as the intercalary month. It is a well known fact that solstices and equinoxes occur earliest in the sidereal year immediately after the addition of the intercalary month. Epigraphic evidence, supplied by the Valabhi inscriptions, shows that Kārttika and Mārgaśīrsa were added as intercalary months. There are Valabhi inscriptions dated 'Samvat 330, Dvitiya Mārgaśīrsa śuddha dvitiyā' and 'Dvitiya Pauṣa Bahula Caturthī.'

25. The ancient calendar, in use in the days of the Bhārata War, adjusted the lunar months to the sidereal year by assigning the Full and the New Moon to particular Naksatras in particular months and by adding periodically an additional month. The full moon of Phālguna was definitely to occur in the Phālgunī division of 30 degrees (R. A. 157° to 187°); if it occurred in the earlier division i. e. in Maghā Vibhāga (R. A. 127° to 157°), the month was not called Phālguna but additional Māgha or Dvitiya Māgha. Similarly, the Full Moon of Kārttika was to occur in the Kārttikā Vibhāga (R. A. 37° to 67°) and the Full Moon of Mārgaśīrsa in the Mārgaśīrsa Vibhāga (R. A. 67° to 97°). The New Moon at the end of Kārttika was to occur in the division from 232 degrees to 262 degrees R. A., and the New Moon at the end of Mārgaśīrsa was to occur in the division from 262 degrees to 292 degrees R. A. The Naksatras for the Kārttika New Moon, in fact, were the last quarter of Viśākhā, Anurādhā and Jyesthā, and the Naksatras for the Mārgaśīrsa New Moon were Mūla, Pūrvāśādhā and the first quarter of Uttarāśādhā. If the intercalary month was ahead i. e. to be added after some time, the Amāvāsyā of Kārttika ended in Viśākhā last quarter, while if it had been recently added,

it ended in the last quarter of Jyesthā. Similarly, the Amāvāsyā of Mārgaśīrṣa ended in Mūla if the intercalary month was ahead, while if the intercalary month had been recently added, it ended in the first quarter of Uttaraśādhā as it did in the year of the Bhārata War. The mention of Śravana as occupied by the Moon at the termination of the War conclusively shows that the intercalary month had been added. Nilakanṭha not only indirectly admits this, but he goes to the length of saying that the War ended on the first day of Pausa. Arjunamiśra appears not to bother himself by these considerations as he tries to fix only the days of the month for the various events without assigning any Nakṣatras.

26. Mr. Karandikar who accepts Bharanī as the Nakṣatra of the first day of the War and says that it occurred on the 11th and not on the 13th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa, indirectly admits that the intercalary month had been recently added that very year, as, in that case only, the constellation Bharanī, which is with the moon either on the 11th or on the 12th or on the 13th, accompanies the moon on the 11th. But, in case the intercalary month is taken to have occurred immediately before, then there arises another difficulty for Mr. Karandikar who follows the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa calculations: The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa gives the bright first or the bright sixth as the dates of the Winter Solstice in case the intercalary month had been added in that year; it gives the dark third only when the intercalary month is ahead. Thus, in accepting Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa as an authority, Mr. Karandikar is following the Ardhajaratīya maxim inasmuch as he accepts the dark third given there as the date for the Winter Solstice, but does not accept the position of the intercalary month being ahead as the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa would require it. He has followed the same maxim in following the Bhāratasāvitṛī regarding the Nakṣatra only, and not regarding the tithi. Moreover, his acceptance of Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa for calculation purposes would compel Mr. Karandikar to admit that the Winter Solstice occurred on the bright first or at the beginning of Māgha in those days although not in the particular year of the War, and such an admission means giving up 3000 B. C. or there about as the age

of the War and acceptance of a date 1400 years later i. e. 1600 B. C. or about that as the date.

27. Thus, it could be seen that the Winter Solstice occurred earliest in the sidereal year on the dark 5th of Māgha not only in that particular year but always in that era. The Winter Solstice at present occurs earliest on the bright 10th or 11th of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year in which Āśvina is added as an intercalary month. The interval of about 68 or 69 days between the earliest occurrence then and the earliest occurrence now, proves that a period of about 5000 years (69×71.8) has passed between our time and the time of the Bhārata War. Hence, irrespective of the date assigned to the writing of the Epic or its different recensions, it can be safely observed that the Bhārata War commenced on Rohini the bright 13th of Mārgaśīrṣa, ended on the evening of the dark 14th when the moon had just entered the Nakṣatra Śravana and the Amāvāsyā had ended, the passing of Bhīṣma took place on the dark 5th of Māgha, the earliest date for its occurrence in those days and the age of the Bhārata War is about 3000 B. C.—a date which happily coincides with the beginning of Kaliyuga and the commencement of the Yudhiṣṭhira Era given by tradition as the age of the War. That the Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka is not a myth but it was a historical fact, is now universally admitted by historians as proved on the strength of epigraphic evidence supplied by epigraphs one of which found at Bādāmi (ancient Vātāpi) mentions its date as Śaka 506 side by side with 3550 of the Kali Yuga.

APPENDIX

VIEWS OF DIFFERENT CRITICS & COMMENTATORS and the dates given by them.

No.	Event and the passage with the exact reference	Arjunamiśra's view	Nīlakanṭha's view	Mr. Karandikar's view	Final view
1	Kṛṣṇa starts on his peace mission. Uddyogaparva ch. 83, st. 16. 17. ततो व्यपेततमसि....मैत्रे सुहृते संप्राप्ते ... कोष्ठे मासि रेवत्यां शरदन्ते हिमागमे ॥ ... कल्पः सत्त्ववर्ता वरः ॥	Bright 15 of Kārttika (26th day of Āśvina)	Bright 12th of Kārttika with Revatī	.....	Bright 11 of Kārttika with Revatī at Sunrise.
2	Kṛṣṇa's mission fails and (1) Balarāma leaves for pilgrimage, (2) Duryodhana orders his allies to encamp at Kurukṣetra and (3) Kṛṣṇa sends message to Kaurava generals to commence war on New Moon after 7 days, (1) तीर्थयात्रां ययौ रामो निर्वर्त्य मधुसूदनम् । उद्योग १५७ ; ३३-३५ (2) आज्ञापयच्च राज्ञस्तान्... पुण्ये पुनः पुनः । उद्योग १५० ; ३ (3) वृषाः कर्णं हतो गत्वा ... उद्योग १४२ ; १६	Dark 8th of Kārttika. (28th day of Āśvina i. e. Dark 2nd of Kārttika grouped with the next 7 days which were all bad.)	Dark 8th of Kārttika with the moon in Puṣya as Duryodhana has said it with confused mind, the real Nakṣatra being different.	.....	Dark 4th of Kārttika the fortnight consisting of only 13 days. Puṣya as the Nakṣatra that day.
3	Occurrence of the New Moon after 7 days. सप्तमात्रापि दिवसादमावास्या भविष्यति । उद्योग १४२ ; १८	New Moon day of Kārttika.	New Moon day of Kārttika.	.....	New Moon day of Kārttika with the Moon in Viśākhā.
4	Bad omens and inauspicious occurrences such as 13 days' fortnight and two eclipses. चन्द्रादित्याद्युभौ यस्तावेकाह्ना हि त्रयोदशीम् । चतुर्दशीं पञ्चदशीं...अमावास्यां त्रयोदशीम् ॥ भीष्मपर्व ३ ; २८-३२	.....	The Solar eclipse on the last i. e. 13th day. Solar eclipse means eclipse of both.	.....	The fortnight of 13 days with lunar eclipse at the beginning & Solar at the end

- | | | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|---|--|
| 5 | Bad omens continue as the Region of Maghā was entered into by the Moon that day.
मघाविषयगः सोमस्तद्धिनं प्रत्य-
पद्यत ।
भीष्मपर्व १७; २ | | Reference to the day of the commence-
ment of the
fight. | | Reference to day fol-
lowing
the next
after Pu-
sya. |
| 6 | Duryodhana sends mes-
sage with Ulūka to Bhi-
ma that Lohābhisāra
(worship of Arms) was
over and next day war
should be commenced.
लोहाभिसारो निर्वृत्तः ... श्वो
युध्यस्व... | Mārgaśīrṣa
Bright 6th. | | | |
| 7 | The fight commences on
the constellation of
Yama on the bright 13.
(Bharatasāvitṛī quoted
by Nilakanṭha)
हेमन्ते प्रथमे मासि शुक्लपक्षे
त्रयोदशी ।
प्रवृत्तं भारतं युद्धं नक्षत्रे
यमदैवते ॥
भारतसावित्री | Bright 12th
of Mārgaśīr-
ṣa combined
with 13th
(2 nd of
Kārt.) | On the con-
stellation
Mrga, the
bright 14th
of Mārg. | On Mārga.
bright 11
with the
Moon in
Bharanī. | On Bright
13th of
Mārga-
śīrṣa with
Moon in
Rohiṇī. |
| 8 | Retirement of Bhisma as
given in Bhāratasāvitṛī
quoted by Nilakanṭha.
अर्जुनेन हतो भीष्मो माघमासेऽ-
सिताष्टमी ॥
भारतसावित्री | Dark 7th of
Mārgaśīrṣa
called 3rd of
Āgrahāyana | Mārgaśīrṣa
Dark 8th. | Dark 5th
of Mārga-
śīrṣa. | Dark 6th
of Mārga-
śīrṣa. |
| 9 | Fight at Night time.
त्रिभागमात्रशेषायां रात्रौ युद्ध-
मवर्तत ॥
महाभारत द्रोणपर्व १८६ | | Dark 12 of
Mārgaśīrṣa | Dark 9th
of Mārga-
śīrṣa. | Dark 10th
of Mārga-
śīrṣa |
| 10 | Death of Drona.
त्रयोदश्यां तु मध्याह्ने भारद्वाजो
निपातितः ।
भारतसावित्री | Dark 12th. | Dark 13th. | Dark 10th. | Dark 11th |

- 11 Last day of the War. New Moon Bright 1st Dark 13th Dark 14th
चत्वारिंशदहान्यय द्वे च मे day. of Pauṣa. of Mārga- with New
निःसृतस्य वै । of Śrīṣa. Moon &
पुष्येण संप्रयातोस्मि श्रवणे पुन- Śravaṇa
रागतः ॥
शल्यपर्व ६४ ; ५-६
- 12 Passing of Bhīṣma. Dark 8th of Bright 5th of Dark 3rd Dark 5th
58 days after war ended. Māghalook- Māgha. of Māgha of Māgha
उषित्वा शर्वरीः श्रीमान्पञ्चाशत्.. ed upon as
भीष्मस्वर्गारोहणपर्व १६७ ; ५ bright 8th
अष्टपञ्चाशत् राज्यः शयानस्याद्य
मे गताः ।
माघोयं समनुयातो मासः
सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर ।
त्रिभागशेषः पक्षोयं शुक्लो भवितु-
मर्हति ॥
भीष्मस्वर्गारोहणपर्व १६७ ; २७-९

MISCELLANEA
SAMGHAS IN PĀṆINI

BY

K. M. SHEMBAVNEKAR

The historical evidence furnished by Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is justly regarded as highly authentic and indisputable. The great grammarian has occasion to refer to the names of towns, tribes and authors, while giving rules for the formation of words (taddhitas), and it is here that he lays the historian under deep obligations. It is a pity, however, that, not too seldom, this most valuable evidence is either imperfectly understood or uncritically investigated. Naturally the conclusions thus arrived at are either unsound, or diametrically opposed to those which strict logic warrants. Thus the late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, whose great zeal and industry in the field of ancient Indian history are widely appreciated, adduces arguments in favour of the existence of ancient Indian republics from a number of Pāṇini's Sūtras in his renowned work, 'the Hindu Polity'-arguments, which we fear, will not bear a critical examination.

His first and chief argument is that "with Pāṇini the word Samgha is a technical term which denoted the Political Samgha, or, as he calls it, the Gana or Republic."

Again, in a foot-note he observes that "Pāṇini knew Samgha, as discussed above, only in the sense of a republic." In support of this view he quotes the *Sūtra* संघोद्धौ गणप्रशंसयोः । (III. 3, 86). Thus, according to Mr. Jayaswal, Pāṇini uses the word Samgha exclusively in the political sense. But a careful examination of the *Sūtras* wherein the word occurs will not bear out his assertion. The *Kāśikā*, which is the oldest commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* next to the *Mahābhāṣya*, and from which Mr. Jayaswal himself has cited a number of comments and illustrations in his book, explains Samgha as an 'aggre-

¹ Hindu Pol. Ch. V. p. 33.

gate of animals'. प्राणिनां समुदायः संघः । (Kās. on III, 3, 42). It repeats the same explanation while commenting upon the Sūtra संख्यायाः संज्ञासंघसूत्राध्ययनेषु । (V, 1, 58) : प्राणिसमूहे संघशब्दो रूढः । Pāṇini himself confirms the above explanation by coupling the word 'Samgha' with domestic beasts in the Sūtra ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री । (I, 2, 73) : ग्राम्याणां पशूनां संघाः ग्राम्यपशुसंघाः । (Kās.). Similarly, the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* uses the phrase पशूनां संघः while pointing out the difference between समज and समाज-: 'समजः पशूनां संघः । समाजो ब्राह्मणानाम् ।' (Si. Kau. on III, 3, 69). Evidently, therefore, a Samgha primarily signifies an aggregate of living animals, rational or irrational, and has no exclusive reference to political organizations. Even when it signifies a Community of people, it does not specify its political character, except in conjunction with certain attributes, or in special contexts. Further, it is interesting to note that scholastic Communities also are called Samghas by Pāṇini, e. g. वैदः संघः, गार्ग्यः संघः, शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शाकलाः, तेषां संघः शाकलः शाकलको वा (cf. Kās. on IV, 3, 127-8). The word 'Samghāta', on the other hand, primarily denotes an aggregate or group of inanimate objects; e. g. वर्णसंघातः, पदसंघातः, cf. 'पदसंघाताः खल्वेते, संघाताश्च पुरुषकृता दृश्यन्ते ।' (Śābara-bhāṣya) ¹. If the difference between the two words had been of a political character, as Mr. Jayaswal seems to suggest, it would have been an unpardonable mistake of Amarasimha and other lexicographers to have left it unnoticed. Similarly, the word 'gaṇa', being exactly a synonym of Samgha, denotes an assemblage of living creatures, not necessarily human. This is clearly confirmed by the Sūtra भगणादृष्टश्च । (IV, 4 11).

Having thus ascertained the primary meaning of Samgha, it is of the highest importance to determine the political character of the several Samghas or clans mentioned by Pāṇini—whether they were republican or monarchic in form and essence. It is especially interesting to note that the grammarian has mentioned three types of clans (Samghas), Viz, Pūga, Vrāta and Āyudha-

¹ Anand, Ed. p. 95.

jivi Samgha. The Kāśikā defines Pūga as 'नानाजातीया अनियत-वृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः संघाः पूगाः ।' This shows that a 'pūga' was a heterogeneous but well-organized band of lawless men or free-booters, without any fixed profession. A 'Vrāta,' on the other hand, was a guild of labourers :

‘अनियतवृत्तय उत्सेधजीविनः संघा द्वाताः । (Kāś.)

‘उत्सेधः शरीरायासः ।’ (Tattvabodhini)

An 'Āyudhajivi Samgha' needs no explanation. Such military bands seem to have been numerous in the Vāhika country in particular. The Kṣudraka and Mālava clans originally belonged to the same area, though in later times they shifted towards Central India.

Nor were these Samghas republics. It is strange that the few Sūtras which shed a clear light on the character of their political organization should have escaped the attention of an indefatigable scholar like Mr. Jayaswal. The Sūtra त्रयादयस्तद्वाजाः । (V. 3 119) leaves absolutely no room for doubt on the point. It means that the 'Pūgas', 'Vrātas' and 'Āyudhajivi Samghas' take the same terminations as those given in the earlier Sūtra, viz. तद्वाजस्य बहुषु तेनैवाधियाम् । (II. 4, 62) in the sense of 'the King of'. Thus the King of the Mālavas, if in the singular, was called Mālavya; while, if several are referred to collectively, the plural form is Mālavāḥ: मालवानां राजा मालव्यः । बहुषु मालवाः । अधियां मालवी, क्षौद्रकी । etc. Thus it is evident that the various Samghas were Monarchic clans bound together by ties of federation. Then, again, the Sūtra संख्यायाः संज्ञासंघसूत्राध्ययनेषु । (V. 1, 58) reveals a very important fact; namely, that adjectives formed from numerals, like पञ्चक, अष्टक etc., were in vogue in those times as denotative of the Membership of the Samghas : पञ्च परिमाणमस्य पञ्चकः संघः, अष्टकः Such an adjective, indeed, would be simply meaningless if, as Mr. Jayaswal tacitly assumes, Samgha meant a 'republic'. Only if we understand a Samgha as meaning a 'League' or, a 'Confederacy' of tribes or states, then the adjective becomes significant. For a Confederacy only, and not a republic, of seven or eight members, is easily comprehensible.

And this is, again, perfectly borne out by the Sūtra दामन्यादित्रि-
 गतषष्ठाच्छः । (V. 3, 116) where the expression त्रिगतषष्ठ is explained
 by the Commentators as a ' Group ' or ' Confederacy ' of which
 the Trigartas formed the sixth member : येवामायुधजीविनां संघानां
 षडन्तर्वर्गाः, तत्र च त्रिगतः षष्ठः । त्रिगतः षष्ठो. येषां ते त्रिगतषष्ठा इत्युच्यन्ते ।
 (Kāś.) Now it is quite possible that the different clans or states con-
 stituting a Saṃgha might have enjoyed, *inter se*, different degrees
 of sovereignty ; but that does not alter their monarchic character.
 For a republic is nothing if not the very antithesis of monarchy.
 And, as pointed out above, the various political Saṃghas known
 to Pāṇini were monarchic clans or states joined together by bonds
 of confederation and designated by their tribal names, such as
 Yaudheyas, Mālavas, etc. A ' Republic ' of the Mālavas, though
 much noised of in modern historical writings, is unknown to
 Pāṇini, or to his Commentators. And it is but fair to remark in
 conclusion, that the meaning we have assigned to the word
 Saṃgha as a political body, best suits the contexts in the Mahā-
 bhārata and Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*.

KARAHĀTAKA AND KARHĀDĀ BRĀHMAṆAS*

By

P. V. KANE

Among the most ancient references are those at the Bharhut stūpa. In Cunningham's work on the Bharhut stūpa (p. 131) there is a gift made by the *Karahakata nigama* (a trade guild from Karahātaka), at p. 135 there is gift of a pillar made by the ārya Bhūtaka (Karahakata-aya-bhutamasa) from Karahātaka; and at pp. 136 and 139 there are other gifts of persons from Karahakata. In the Sabhāparva (31. 70-71) Sahadeva is said to have conquered the countries of Kerala, of Vanavāsin (Banavasi), the city of Saujayanti (Vaijayanti?), the Pāṣaṇḍa Karahātaka, Pāṣaṇḍa does not appear to be the name of a country. The meaning seems to be that Karahātaka was the home of heretics then. In the Kuṇḍa Inscriptions (A. S. W. I. vol. IV p. 87) we have a lohavāpiya (a dealer in iron) from Karahākada. In the Sāmangaḍ plate of Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga dated śake 675 (753 A. D.) the donee is a Brāhmaṇa dwelling in Karahātaka (Karahātaka-vāstavyah). Vide I. A. vol. xi, p. 108. From the Talegaon plates of Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja I dated śake 690 it appears that Karahātaka was a ten-thousand province (E. I. XIII p. 275). But from an Inscription of the Sinda family dated śake 1165 it appears that Karahātaka was a 4000 province. So the district of Karahātaka varied in size from century to century. The Karhad plates of Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III dated śake 880 record a gift of a village called Kaṅkem which was included in the Kalli twelve falling within the district of Karahāta to a great Śaiva adept (E. I. IV p. 278). A grant of the Śilāhāra Mārasimha of śake 980 refers to the countries of Karahāta and Kuṇḍi (Burgess and Bhagavanlal's Cave temples p. 102). In the Kolhapur grant of Śilāhāra Bhojadeva II dated śake 1112 the donees are Sahavāsi Ādityabhātta and Laksmīdhara-bhātta, Karahātaka Prabhākara Ghaisāsa and Vāsiyana Ghaisāsa

* [In June 1944, I published my paper on "The Origin and Antiquity of the Caste name of the Karhada Brahmins" (*History of the Gunye family* by V. T. Gunye pp. 427-479). I had sent a copy of this paper to Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane who has been kind enough to send me his own notes on this subject which he had made years ago. I am thankful to Prof. Kane for these notes and also to Mm. Prin. V. V. Mirashi for kindly verifying at my request the references in these notes. —P. K. Gode]

(E. I. III 213, 216). The Vikramāṅkadevacarita (VIII 2-4) narrates that Candralekhā the daughter of the king of Karahāṭa was married to Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya. Karahāṭa or Karahāṭaka was the name of a country and also of a town (as in E. I. IV p. 286 'Karahāṭiya-valkaleśvara-sthānapati &c.).

In my opinion in ancient grants and inscriptions whenever the donees are described as Karahāṭaka Brāhmanas it does not necessarily follow that Karhādā Brāhmanas are meant. As in some inscriptions trade guilds (nigama) and iron dealers are described as Karahāṭaka, so Brāhmanas residing in or coming from Karahāṭaka were so described. So I cannot agree that in the grant of śake 930 'Karahāṭaka-pramukha-brāhmanān' refers to Karhādā Brāhmanas.

In the Saujāna plates of Amoghavarasa of (śake 793) the donee is described as one of the Brāhmanas that went out from Karahāṭa (Karahāṭavinirgata-Bharadvājagniveśyānam &c.). Ghaisāsa seems to be an appellation and not a mere surname. In an inscription at Ittagi dated 1112 A. D. there is a 'Mudiya-nūra Viṣṇu-Ghaisāsa'. In the Thana plate of Yādava king Rāmacandra dated śake 1194 (E. I. XIII p. 203) persons called 'Ghaisāsa' have different gotras (Gautama-gotrīya-Somanātha-ghaisāsa-suta' and Kāśyapa-gotrīya-Trivikrama-ghaisāsa &c.). Citpāvana Ghaisāsas have Bhāradvāja gotra. In the Rādhapur grant of Govinda III dated śake 730, we come across, 'Gahiasāhasa' and also 'Ghaisāsa'. Is the word derived from 'grhitasāhasa'? A copper plate of Mummuni (E. I. XXV p. 53) mentions, among the donees, a 'Devadhara Dikṣita' of Vatsa-gotra, while in modern times Citpāvana Devadharas have Kauśikagotra. One donee in an inscription of śake 1313 (E. I. XXI p. 18) is a Paṭṭavardhana of Kāśyapagotra while modern Citpāvana Paṭṭavardhanas are of the Kaundinyagotra. In the Masulipatam plate of Amma II (E. I. V p. 139) the donee is described as the son of Pammavā, a paṭṭavardhini (which probably means 'a manufacturess of costly pieces of cloth'). Among the donees in the Navalakhi plates of Śīlāditya I (in Gupta-saṁvat 286) there is a Bappaṭaka and a Bhānu. Are the surnames Bāpaṭ and Bhānu among modern Citpāvans connected with these?

AN 'ĀDILSHĀHĪ FARMĀN AGAINST SHIVĀJĪ, THE GREAT.

BY

G. H. KHARE

The *farman* which forms the subject of this short note is in the possession of Mr. Bhāveppā Mūgi of Bail-hongal (Belgaum) who very kindly allowed me to have it transcribed and published. He has the hobby of collecting old documents, Mss., etc. and got this *farman* along with some other documents from a gentleman most probably of Hubli (Dharwar). It is issued by the Bijapur sultan 'Alī 'Ādilshāh II, to the Desāis (hereditary civil and military officers) of Hubli district on the 17 (?)th of Rabi' I of the Shuhūr year 1060 and the Hījra year 107[0*], corresponding to 22 (?)nd of November 1659 A. D.

It purports to order the Desāis of the Hubli district to proceed with their contingents of cavalry and infantry to Rustum-i-Zamān who was made a *sarlashkar* (head of the army) and specially appointed to extirpate Sīvā (Shivājī, the great), and act under his orders as well as to his satisfaction.

Shivājī, the great, after killing Afdalkhān during the memorable interview on 10-11-1659 A. D., with a view to take advantage of the resultant situation, raided the Southern Maratha country as far as the river Kṛsnā and captured the fort of Panhālā (Kolhapur) on 28-11-1659 A. D.¹ The Bijapur Sultan misguided by a false estimate of Shivājī's power appointed Rustum-i-Zamān to annihilate Shivājī, the great. He together with Faḍilkhān, the son of Afdalkhān, fought with Shivājī, the great, near Kolhapur; but both of them were defeated on 28-12-1659 A. D.² Thus ended the ill-fated expedition of Rustum-i-Zamān against Shivājī, the great,

But *Tārīkh-i-'Alī*, the court history of 'Alī 'Ādilshāh II would make us believe that even though Rustum-i-Zamān with a contingent of 3000 cavalry was in his *Jagir* near the fort of Panhālā when Shivājī, the great, captured the fort, he only feigned to fight with Shivājī; but really speaking did nothing except passing his days in luxury at this critical moment. He could not, therefore, gain victory over Shivājī, the great. This is evident from the following extract (Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts from the India Office Library vol. I, No. 450, p. 61.).

¹ Shivacharitrpradīpa p. 20.

² Ibid p. 57.

و چون آن کافر حرام نمک رخ از فیلم (طاعت و فدویت حضرت بادشاه غازی بر تافتن قبای مصادقت و موالات نایکواریان قلعه پنال کم سرآمد فلعلهای بادشاهیت بر فامت ناساز خود چسبت و موافق یافتن بود بسرعت تمام شنافتن باتفاق آن فیه باغیم سراپا نفاق قلعه مذکور را متصرف گردید و رستم زمان نام از امرای بادشاهی کم با سه هزار سوار در آن دیار در جاگیر خود نشستیم گلهای انتعاش و شادمانی از باغستان جوانی و رباحین کامرانی از حدیقه زنده گانی می چید بعد از استماع این خبر هر چند تخم جدل و حرب با آن کافر واجب القتل و الضرب در مزرعه تردد و تلاش داشت ... اما بغیر از خار و خس محنت و مزلت ببری و ثمری از آن بر نداشت

The factory records of foreign companies attribute the evasive activities of Rustum-i-Zamān to his being bought over by Shivāji, the great, and consequently of his becoming a friend of the latter¹. Whatever may be the case, the Bijapur Sultan was obliged to send Sidi Jauhar, another general against Shivāji, the great, for the same end for which Rustum-i-Zamān was appointed.

Text of the *farman*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(الملک لله)

[Seal of 'Alī 'Ādilshāh II*]

فرمان همایون شرف صدور یافت بجانب دیسایان معاملہ هبلی آنک از شهر سنم ستین الف درینولا حشمت و شوکت دستگاه دولت خواه زاده سلیمان بارگاه منظور انظار خاقانی مشمول عواطف سلطانی نوباوہ بوستان شجاعت نہال گلستان شہامت... و غا نہنگ بحر ہبجا خان عالیشان سعادت نشان رفیع القدر والمان رستم زمان را سر لشکری عنایت فرمودہ جہتم استیصال سیوائی مردود نامزد فرمودہ فرستادہ شدہ است میباید کم آنها با جمعیتی سوار [؟] و احشام خود را پیش خان معز الیم رسانیدہ بم تبعیت خان مشار الیم بودہ لوازم خدمت و جان فشانی بتقدیم رسانند کم این معنی منضم سوافرازی و بہودی آنها است تا دانند حسب ال [فرمان*] اشرف اقدس ہمایون روند تحریر فی التاريخ ۱۷ (؟) ماہ ربیع الاول سنم ... ۱۰۷

[In the margin*] علی [؟] اشرف اقدس ہمایون

¹ Patrasārasaṅgraha, Vol. I, Nos. 790, 791, 800, 804, 811, 812.

THE THREE EARLIEST JAIN INFLUENCERS
OF MUGHAL RELIGIOUS POLICY :
PADMASUNDARA, ĀNANDARĀJA, AND AJAYARĀJA
BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA

It is usual to regard Hiravijaya Sūri, who visited Akbar's court in 1582 A. D., as the earliest Jain influencer of Akbar's religious policy. But this credit should, I believe, actually go to Padmasundaragani who was, even according to the writers of Hiravijaya's lives, one of the Emperor's intimate friends.¹ He had given Akbara large number of Hindu books, Jaina as well non-Jaina, which were after the demise of this great scholar passed on to Hiravijaya Sūri by the Emperor's eldest son Salim, later on known as Jahāngir.²

As to when Padmasundara first came into touch with Akbar, our best source of information is the former's *Akabarasaḥi-Śṛṅgāradarpaṇa*, a rare work on Poetics, of which we are fortunate enough to have a manuscript in the Śrī-Anūpa Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. As the Ms. is said to have been originally copied at Agra in V. 1626 (1569 A.D.),³ Padmasundara's association with Akbar, by whose orders the book is said to have been composed, "must have naturally begun earlier than this date; or, to be a little more precise, probably about 1562 A. D., because while the writer extols Bābar for the conquest of Delhi and Humāyun for the defeat of the rulers of Gujarāt and Bengāl, all that he says about Akbar is that he "the fortunate one attained kingship by defeating his enemies." Such a statement for Akbar, whose achievements were both vast and varied, and especially on the part of one who was out to say all that he could in favour of the Emperor and his dynasty must have been obviously impossible after Akbar had begun his brilliant career of conquests and victories in 1561. The first liberalising influ-

1 M. D. Desai, *Jaina Sāhitya no Itihāsa*, p. 545.

Ibid.

3 Colophon of the Ms. gives *Samvat* 1626, *Aṣāḍha-māsa*, *Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa*, *aṣṭamī*, Tuesday as the date.

ence that Akbar had was, thus, probably of this Jain Sādhū and scholar. Abul Faizi and Abul Fazl came some years later to his court, the former in 1567 and the latter in 1574 A. D. The favourable attitude towards the Jains too, which Akbar retained throughout his life, was perhaps in some part due to his early and intimate association with this Jain scholar who, though as good a Jain as any other who later on came to Agra or Fatehpur-Sikri, was liberal enough in his views to offer his salutations "to that Supreme Light called Rahmān".¹

There is evidence enough for the great erudition of Padmasundara. The *Akabarāsāhi-Śrīṅārādarpaṇa* proves his proficiency in Poetics. In the lives of Hiravijaya Sūri, he is said to have beaten in debate a Brāhmaṇa from Benares². Harsakīrti of Nāgor, who was one of his younger contemporaries, mentions the same fact in his *Dhātupāṭha*³, and states in his additional colophon to the Ms. of the *Akabarāsāhi-Śrīṅārādarpaṇa* that Padmasundara was as highly honoured by Akbar as were Jayarāja and Ānandarāya by Bābar and Humāyun respectively.⁴

Who these Jayarāja and Ānandarāya were, can be at the most a matter of conjecture. Probably they were both Jain scholars who, like some of their earlier co-religionists patronised by the Sultāns of Delhi, found favour with Bābar and Humāyun and thus paved the way for the entrance and greater influence of people like Padmasundara and Hiravijaya Sūri. One Ānandapramoda of the Tapāgaccha is known to have composed the "*Śānti-Jina-Vivāhalo*" in V. 1590.⁵ Can he be the Ānandarāya mentioned by Harsakīrti who too, it might be remembered, was a follower of the Tapāgaccha?

¹ *Yat-pāre tamasah sthitam ca Rahamānityāhvayam tatparam
jyotiḥ Sāhi-śiromaṇe Akabarastvām sarvadevavatāt || 1 ||*

(1st verse of the *Akabarāsāhi-Śrīṅārādarpaṇa*)

² M. D. Desai *Jaina Sāhitya no Itihāsa*, p. 545.

³ *Bhandarkar's Report*, No. 3, p. 227.

⁴ *Mānyo Bābara-bhūbhujō'tra Jayarāt tadvat Humāyūn-nṛpo-
'tyartham prītamānāḥ sumānyamakaroḍ Ānandarāyābhidham
tadvat Sāhi-śiromaṇer Akabara-kṣmāpālacūḍāmaṇer -
mānyaj paṇḍita-Padmasundara ihābhūt paṇḍitavrātajit.*

M. D. Desai, *Jaina Sāhitya no Itihāsa*, p. 527.

REVIEWS

LIṄGADHĀRAṆACANDRIKĀ of Nandikeśvara with translation and full notes by M. R. Sakhare, M. A., T. D. (Cantab), 1942, Price Rs. 15.

I read Professor M. R. Sakhare's "Liṅgadhāranacandrikā" with English Translation and full Notes, and a long, valuable Introduction, designed to familiarise the layman as well as the scholar with the 'History and Philosophy of the Liṅgāyat Religion,' with considerable pleasure and profit. It has helped to clear many of my own hazier notions about the Liṅgāyat Cult and I feel sure that the experience of other readers—be they Liṅgāyats or Non-Liṅgāyats—will not be much different from mine.

Being himself a cultured and critical follower of the Liṅgāyat Religion it was natural that Professor Sakhare should have looked upon the task accomplished by him so meritoriously in a volume of more than a thousand pages as a sacred mission; and I can vouch from personal knowledge that he had been formulating plans about such work some years ago. The present publication is evidently a product of wide reading and mature thinking, which are discernible on almost every page of it. Alike in the Introduction as in the Annotations the author has quoted extensively the original authorities used by him; and this feature is likely to appeal to the average reader, who rarely feels the inclination, even when he has the means, to refer to the original sources when they are cited merely by chapter and page.

Nandikeśvara, the author of the Liṅgadhāranacandrikā, is a seventeenth century author, Liṅgāyat by profession, who has endeavoured to establish in the Sanskrit work before us that the beginnings of the Liṅgāyat Religion and Philosophy are traceable even in the Vedas and the Upanisads. In his lengthy Introduction Professor Sakhare has availed himself of the Indus Valley finds, particularly of their interpretation by Professor Heras, to render the antiquity of Śiva worship, as not improbable in view of the data already known, which Professor Sakhare has

with considerable pains collected together. Not every reader of the Volume will of course find it possible to see eye to eye with the learned author in every detail but there is a wealth of information to be derived from the book, and occasional hints for workers in kindred fields of research. All this taken into consideration, I sincerely congratulate Professor Sakhare upon his performance.

Unhappily the work is disfigured by too many misprints of which the Author himself is painfully conscious, and which will have to be removed in the next edition before the work can secure an assured place of respect in the world of Oriental Scholarship.

S. K. Belvalkar

A HANDLIST OF THE ARABIC, PERSIAN AND HINDUSTANI MSS. of New College, Edinburgh, By R. B. Serjeant, Ph.D., published by Luzac & Co., London; Edition 1942, pages 16, size 15 × 21 cm., Price, 3 sh. 6 d.

This list describes the Manuscripts which were donated to the New College by Binning and Bell. Although the Mss. have not been described in detail, the list will be of great use to the scholars interested in Oriental Mss. The first lines of some important Manuscripts are given which will be helpful for comparison with the Manuscripts of other libraries. The collection consists of important Manuscripts in Arabic dealing with Theology, history, biography; in Persian (section III) history, biography, ethics, poetry, translations from Sanskrit, astrology and music; in Hindustani (section III) Manuscripts of Deccani Urdu are very important. On p. 16, line 8 "Kissah-i-Malkah", should be "Qissah-i-Malikhah-i-Misr". On p. 9, Or. (Pers.) 41, "Bashista Jog" should be "Jog-Bāsishta". It redounds to the credit of Luzac & Co. that even in these days of paper scarcity they have published a book which is of interest only to the Oriental scholars.

B. D. Verma

WHY EXHIBIT WORKS OF ART? Collected Essays on the traditional or "normal" view of Art by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, London 1943, pp. 148.

The author of these Collected Essays needs no introduction to students and connoisseurs of Art. At the risk of being considered uncritical one feels like honestly speaking of him in superlatives. He has the versatility of Aristotle and the profundity of Plato: or shall I say, the scientific and critical acumen of the former and the wisdom and vision of the latter? He is at home with every Art and every branch of science; equally familiar with Western and Oriental learning, both classical and modern. With all his wealth of scholarship, and essentially mystical attitude, he is as precise and perspicuous as a mathematician. He is frankly traditionalist, but not obscurantist, though he might appear to the modernist too subtle if not metaphysical. He finds Modern Art too materialistic and skin-deep. He considers the distinction between Fine Arts and handicrafts altogether meaningless and misleading. According to him all honest work is or ought to be creative. All creative work is beautiful and a source of joy. True Art therefore cannot be 'escape from life'. Sensuous pleasure is not the function of Art. Its purpose is the fulfilment of life itself and its creative urges. In the midst of the superficialities and trivialities and the thoughtless hurry of our industrial civilisation and sensuous culture, Coomaraswamy comes as a cool and refreshing breeze from heaven.

Thanks to Paper Control, I am constrained to be brief. With Coomaraswamy I feel that "the perfection of the object is something of which the critic cannot judge, its beauty something that he cannot feel, if he has not like the original artist made himself such as the thing itself should be; it is in this way that '*criticism is reproduction*', and '*judgment the perfection of Art*'. The catholicity of the writer is typically represented by the rare superscription (in our possessive age): "This book has not been copyrighted; quotations, long or short, may be made without express permission". We must be thankful also to the publishers (Messrs. Luzac & Co.) for pricing this profound book no more than 6 sh.

S. R. Sharma

GĀTHĀ AHUNAVAITI: Text with a free English Translation.
by Irach J. S. Taraporewala, Bombay 1944.

The Gāthās of Zarathushtra are to the Parsi Zoroastrian what the Veda is to the Hindu. Generations of Zoroastrians have, in the past, derived spiritual inspiration from the sacred words of the Prophet of Iran. Do they have any vital message to give to the present generation as well? Dr. Taraporewala seems to answer this question with an emphatic 'Yes' and demonstrates, through his excellent translation of these important Gāthās of Zarathushtra, how that is so. In a brief introduction Dr. Taraporewala explains the purpose and plan of this small book and the principles which guided him in his work of translation. This is followed by an illuminating note on the AMESA SPENTA or the 'Holy Immortals', which gives the very quintessence of the sublime ethical teaching of Zarathushtra. The text of the Gāthās is given in Roman script on the left hand page and its accurate but at the same time very readable translation in graceful English on the opposite page. A note on the pronunciation of the Avesta text, which is given at the beginning, is highly useful.

With his mystic insight, peculiar to Orientals, and the scientific methods which he has thoroughly mastered under the tutelage of that veteran German Iranist, Bartholomae, Dr. Taraporewala is, without doubt, most eminently fitted to reinterpret, for the present generation, the Message of Zarathushtra in its proper perspective. Though this neat little volume is primarily intended for the general Parsi readers, it is none the less enlightening for every critical student of the Avesta and the Veda. It is hoped that Dr. Taraporewala will continue this series of translations of Avestan texts for the benefit of all students of Indology.

R. N. D.

THE RJULAGHVĪ OF PŪRṆASARASVATĪ, critically
edited by Prof. N. A. Gore, Oriental Book Agency,
Poona 1943, Pp. 30+72, Price Rs. 2/-

This work is a metrical version of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-mādhava*, containing 266 stanzas in all, in a variety of metres of which two are rather out of the way but are carefully identified by the painstaking editor, who with only a single Ms. to go upon, has given evidence, of his thoroughness and scholarship in shaping a readable text by supplying lacunae and emending the readings where absolutely necessary.

The author of the work is Pūrṇasarasvatī, who hails from Kerala and who seems to be a prolific writer of commentaries on ancient classics. The editor has spared no pains in collecting information about his life, date and works; he has further added valuable notes and indexes and thus considerably enhanced the usefulness of the work. A learned Foreward from Dr. Raghavan has also added to its value. I beg to differ, however, from the learned doctor in his view that the work as a *Khaṇḍa-Kāvya* could be independently prescribed as a text-book in the Intermediate classes of our Colleges. This is not to deny it the many good points that Prof. Gore has brought out in his appreciation of the poet; but he certainly does not deserve to take his rank with our classical writers who alone ought to be studied in Schools and Colleges. The poet seems to have an undue *penchant* for obscure and out-of-the-way words and expressions (cf. आयल्लक, गरिष्ठ meaning गुरुश्रेष्ठ, नन्दधुः; also his use of दैवत in the masculine in stz. 171, even against the view of Mammaṭa who condemns its use in the masculine as it involves the *Kāvya-doṣa*-अप्रयुक्तत्व; also the expression आवां-यूवा stz. 38); the style is also not quite happy, nor is the narrative smooth.

Prof. Gore deserves our warm congratulations on the very careful editing and on the valuable introduction and notes that bear the stamp of a painstaking and deep scholarship.

C. R. Devadhar

(दुहनात्मक) रामेश्वरी-गढ़वाली-व्याकरण-मूल्य १-२-० By Pt. Ramprasad Bhatt, Research Scholar, V. V. R. Institute, and Librarian, D. A. V. College, Lahore

This little book contains a valuable collection of Garhwali words. The occurrence of a word like स्यो "that" in Pahari, as we learn from this book is very interesting, for his word may be a preservation of Vedic स्य "that" and more collections like this will be above to the Linguisticians. Again the word ल्हवाक "receiver" starts with three consonants ल्ह, , and क्, an initial which is a rare phenomenon in pre-Aryan languages. If Garhwali has more words of this type, it will be news to the Linguistician, and it is hoped that Pt. R. P. Bhatt, Shastri will continue his admirable attempt by collecting more words of this type for the use of the Linguisticians.

Siddheshwar Varma

VEDĀNTA-PAÑCADAŚĪ, Edited with commentary by Rayaprolu Linganasomayaji, B.A., B.L., Guntur, 1942, Price Rs. 4/-

This is really a splendid commentary on the Vedānta-pañcadaśī, an Advaitic work written by Vidyāranya. The art of writing original works and commentaries in Sanskrit is fast waning. And the author has really done a great service to the motherland by following the ancient tradition. The commentary is lucid, precise, and to the point.

A. P. Karmarkar

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We understand that Kevalānanda Sarasvati Svāmī (Brahmasrī Nārāyaṇasāstrī Marathe, formerly Director, Prājña Pātha Śālā, Wai, Dist. Satara) has written several works, all of which are still in Manuscript form. He had prepared a Word-Index for a major portion of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa but he abandoned that work on learning that a similar work was published at Madras. With a view to avoid duplicate efforts on the part of scholars in the case of works already prepared by the Svāmiji, we give below a list of such of his works as are ready with him in manuscript form: (1) Aitareya-Subject-Index (Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka) (2) Taittirīya-Mantra-Index (Samhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Āraṇyaka) (3) Taittirīya-Subject-Index (Samhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Āraṇyaka) (4) Satyāsādha-Subject-Index (Sūtra saṁgraha) (5) Jaiminiya Mimāṃsā Samśodhita Sūtra Pātha (6) Jaiminiya Mimāṃsā Sūtra Pada-Index (7) Jaiminiya Mimāṃsā-Adhikaraṇa Śiṛṣaka-Index (8) Jaiminiya Mimāṃsā Kośa (9) Marathi Translation of Advaita Siddhi (10) Advaita-Vedānta-Kośa and (11) Index of all Śāstrīya and Laukika Nyāyas with illustrations.

Scholars may communicate to the following address for further details, Kevalananda Sarasvati Svami, Wai, Dist. Satara.

—Ed.

OBITUARY NOTICES

THE LATE PANDIT RANGACHARYA RADDI

By the death of Pandit Rangacharya Balakrishnacharya Raddi Mahārāṣṭra has lost a great scholar-teacher and a genial personality.

He learnt Sanskrit literature, poetics and grammar with his own father and Pandits Bālācārya and Anantācārya Gajendragadkar and Vāsudevaśāstri Abhyankar.

After his appointment in 1898 as a Śāstri at Sholapur he came under the influence of the head-master there, the late Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi, who encouraged him to write an original Sanskrit commentary on the Mṛcchakatika.

The Mṛcchakatika commentary was later followed by other commentaries on the Mālavikāgnimitra and Kāvyaadarśa. It was, however, not by scholarship of the old type, expressing itself in abstruse Sanskrit, that he distinguished himself. He had a rare critical acumen and, unlike Śāstris of the old school, he had a sense of historical perspective and a modern outlook. Much of his literary work consisted of articles contributed to leading Marathi journals. Amongst these writings may be mentioned his article on Bhāsa in which he exposes the hollowness of the arguments of Ganapati Śāstri, the one on Bhavabhūti in which he points out the good points as well as the defects of Bhavabhūti as a poet, that on Bhāmaha in which he maintains that Bhāmaha was a Buddhist and those on Śūdraka and Kālidāsa in which he uses historical evidence with consummate ability. His contributions to Marathi grammar and prosody are equally noteworthy.

Being a follower of the Madhva School of Vedānta he thought it his duty to translate the Madhvyabhāsyā with the Tattva-prakāśikā and several other works of the Madhva School into Marathi. This, however, did not prevent him from appreciating the greatness of Śaṅkara as a philosopher and a stylist.

As a teacher of Sanskrit he occupied a unique position. That he could create a love for Sanskrit in his pupils of both the sexes, of whom he claimed a large number, could be seen from the enthusiasm with which his seventieth birthday was celebrated by them five years ago.

He was a man of very progressive views, and his wit and amiable nature endeared him to a large circle of friends.

V. G. Paranjape

PROFESSOR A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

Students of Indology all over the world will sincerely mourn the sad demise at Edinburgh, on 6th October 1944, of Professor A. Berriedale Keith, the veteran Sanskritist and the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Edinburgh. Professor Keith's multifarious contributions to Sanskrit studies, ranging over a period of more than thirty years, are distinctly marked by a surprising variety of subjects which he dealt with as well as by his critical, original and, above all, encyclopaedic treatment of them. The *Vedic Index*, which is the result of a fruitful collaboration between the preceptor and the pupil—Macdonell and Keith—represents a definite landmark in his history of Vedic studies in the West. This was followed by other equally authoritative and valuable works in the field of Vedic philology. Keith's English translation of the *Āitareya* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas* and of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and his *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads*, which are published in the Harvard Oriental Series, are excellent monuments of critical and comprehensive scholarship. Professor La Vallée Poussin once beautifully summed up the feelings of all readers of the *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads* when he said that that work of Keith's was a veritable encyclopaedia of ancient Indian religions and culture.

But Keith did not restrict himself to only one field of study. Indeed there is hardly any branch of Indology which he has not enriched by means of his valued contributions. He wrote an exhaustive treatise on *Sanskrit Drama* and an ably documented *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*. Keith's smaller books, *Karma-Mīmāṃsā*, *The Sāṃkhya System*, and *Indian Logic and Atomism*, are quite useful introductions to the study of the respective schools of Indian philosophy. Keith has contributed a number of research articles on a variety of subjects to learned journals and commemoration volumes. It is hoped that they will soon be made available in a single volume.

Apart from this work in the field of Indology, which is great both in quality and quantity, Professor Keith was universally

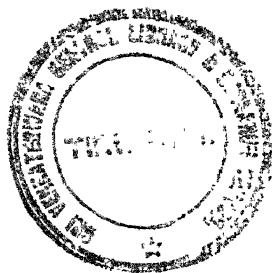
recognised as an eminent authority on Constitutional Law. On many occasions he had expressed his weighty opinions on the constitutional problems of the present-day India. He was thus one of the most versatile British scholars of the modern times.

As a valued member of the Board of Referees set up in connection with the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, which the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is bringing out, and as a Trustee of the Mahābhārata Fund in Great Britain, Professor Keith was always of the greatest help to this Institute. He used to take keen interest in the progress of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, and actively supported, in all possible ways, every new enterprise undertaken by the Institute. In him this Institute has lost a true friend, guide and philosopher.

R. N. D.

We regret to announce the recent demise in Bombay of Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria. A profound scholar of Ancient Iranian language, literature and culture and an active worker of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Mr. Anklesaria was one of the leading Orientalists in this province. His many learned contributions to the Avestic and allied studies are greatly respected by all scholars. Mr. Anklesaria was connected with the Bombay Historical Society, Gatha Society and several other academic institutions in Bombay and has served the cause of research with great distinction.

—Ed.



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